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TRAVELS  
IN  
THE MOREA.

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VOL. III.

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TRAVELS  
IN  
THE MOREA.

WITH  
A MAP AND PLANS.

BY  
WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE,  
F.R.S. ETC.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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# CONTENTS

OF

VOL. III.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

### LACONIA. — ARCADIA.

	Page
River PHELLIA.—PHARIS.—BRYSEÆ.—Ancient places on Mount TAYGETUM.—Ancient topography of the part of LACONIA eastward of the EUROTAS.—PALÆA, GERANTHRÆ, GLYMPIA, MARIUS, SELINUS.—From Mistrá to Perivólia.—Tomb of LADAS.—PELLANA.—From Perivólia to Barbítza.—BELEMINA.—Source of the EUROTAS.—Of the Passes leading into LACONIA.—SCIRITIS.—IUM.—EUTÆA.—From Barbítza to Tripolitzá.—Temple on Mount BOREIUM.—Of the subterraneous course of the Rivers ALPHEIUS and EUROTAS.....	1

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### ARCADIA.

Military importance of MANTINEIA.—Approaches to the MANTINICE from the ISTHMUS.—Roads from ARGOS to MANTINEIA.—The *Inert* plain.—Course of the waters in the MANTINICE and TEGEATIS.—Ancient military occurrences in the MANTINICE ; particularly the three battles : namely, 1. In the Peloponnesian war, between the Argives and the Lacedæmonians under Agis.—2. That in which the Bœotians

under Epaminondas were opposed to the Lacedæmo- nians and Athenians.—3. Between the forces of the Achaian league under Philopœmen and the Lacedæ- monians under Machanidas.....	Page 44
--	------------

## CHAPTER XXV.

## ARCADIA.

From Tripolitzá to Kalpáki.—Ancient roads from MAN- TINEIA to ORCHOMENUS.—ORCHOMENUS.—Ancient roads from thence to CAPHYÆ, PHENEUS, and STYM- PHALUS.—From Kalpáki to Kandíli.—Mount Ly- kórema.—Kastaniá.—Foniá.—STYMPHALUS.—CA- PHYÆ.—Battle of CAPHYÆ .....	94
---	----

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## ARCADIA.—ACHAIA.

PHENEUS.—The PHENEATICE.—Foniá, its plain, rivers, and mountains.—The Arcadian zerethra.—From Fo- niá to Klukínes.—The mountain and river CRATHIS. —STYX.—To Megaspilio.—LUSI, CYNÆTHA.—To Vostitza.—CERYNEIA, ÆGIUM.—To Patra .....	135
--	-----

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## ACHAIA.

Ancient History of ACHAIA.—Twelve Cities.—From Patra to Vostitza.—By Sea to Xyló-kastro.—To Trík- kala.—PELLENE.—MYSÆUM.—CYRUS.—Tríkkala. —OLURUS.—To Vasiliká.—To Corinth .....	196
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## CORINTHIA.

Corinth and its two ports.—Ancient descriptions of the	
--	--



city by Strabo and Pausanias.—Existing monuments.	Page
—Long Walls.—Description of CORINTH by Wheler.	
—District of CORINTH.—An ancient PERISTOMIUM.	229

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## CORINTHIA.

HIERUM of the ISTHMUS.—Ancient attempts to make a Canal through the ISTHMUS.—Ancient fortifications across the ISTHMUS.—CROMMYON.—SIDUS.—SOLYGEIA, CHERSONESUS, RHEITUS.—Ports PEIRÆUS, ANTHEDON, and BUCEPHALEIA.—Capes HERÆUM and OLMIE.—CENOE, PEIRÆUM, THERMA.—TENEÆ.	285
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXX.

## PHLIASIA.—SICYONIA.

From Corinth to St. George.—CLEONÆ.—Ancient Roads from CLEONÆ.—NEMEA.—St. George.—PHLIUS.—The PHLIASIA.—Ancient Military Operations in this District.—ORNEÆ.—From St. George to Vasiliká.—SICYON.—Subordinate Places of the SICYONIA.—EPIEICIA, THYAMIA, GERÆ, TITANE.....	324
--	-----

## CHAPTER XXXI.

## ACHAIA.

From Vasiliká to Xyló-kastro, and Kamáres.—Rivers HELISSON and SYS.—DONUSSA.—To Mavra Lithária.—ÆGEIRA, PHELLOE, ARISTONAUTÆ.—To Akráta.—ÆGÆ.—To Trúpiá.—BURA.—HELICE.—To Vosítza.—CERYNEIA.—Ancient Geography between ÆGIUM and ÆGEIRA.—To Pátra.—Port ERINEUS.—Ancient Geography between PATRÆ and ÆGIUM.—LEONTIUM .....	382
INDEX .....	421



# TRAVELS

IN

## THE MOREA.

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### SECOND JOURNEY.

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#### CHAPTER XXIII.

LACONIA.

ARCADIA.

River PHELLIA.—PHARIS.—BRYSEÆ.—Ancient places on Mount TAYGETUM.—Ancient topography of the part of LACONIA eastward of the EUROTAS.—PALÆA, GERANTHRÆ, GLYMPIA, MARIUS, SELINUS.—From Mistrá to Perivólia.—Tomb of LADAS.—PELLANA.—From Perivólia to Barbítza.—BELEMINA.—Source of the EUROTAS.—Of the Passes leading into LACONIA.—SCIRITIS.—IUM.—EUTÆA.—From Barbítza to Tripolitzá.—Temple on Mount BOREIUM.—Of the subterraneous course of the Rivers ALPHEIUS and EUROTAS.

MARCH 25.—I visit again the castle of Mistrá, ride up by the direct road, and in descending pass round the hill, which is quite insulated, and then through the great precipitous opening of the Pandeileimona into the southern part of the town, from which this is the shortest and



easiest approach to the castle. Nothing can be finer than the scenery of this descent; the steep rocks of the castle hill, the cultivated terraces of Vлахοκρόρι and Βαρσένικο, and the rocky torrent rushing between the two precipices, present a variety of beautiful contrasts with the rich and extensive view of the plain of Sparta which is seen through the opening.

The elevated district lying in the hollow contained between the highest summits of *Taygetum* and the cliffs bordering the plain of *Sparta*, is noticed by Pausanias in the following passage <sup>a</sup>, which previously describes the road across the plain from Sparta to the place where the road entered the mountain. “In proceeding from the temple of Neptune Gæauchus toward Taygetum, there is a heroum of Lacedæmon, son of Taygete, at a place called Alesiæ; beyond which, after having crossed the river Phellia near [or beyond] Amyclæ <sup>b</sup>, and proceeded in the direction of the sea <sup>c</sup>, occurs Pharis, formerly a Laconic city. But the road to the mountain Taygetum turns from the Phellia to the right, In the plain there is a sacred portion <sup>d</sup> of Jupiter Messapeus; beyond which is situated Bryseæ, near the place where the road issues

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Lacon. c. 20.

<sup>b</sup> παρὰ Ἀμύκλας.

<sup>c</sup> ἰοῦσιν εὐθεῖαν ὡς ἐπὶ θά-

λασσαν.

<sup>d</sup> τέμενος. The place was called Messapeæ. V. Stephan.

in Μεσσαπείαι.

out of Taygetum into the plain. Bryseæ was formerly a city <sup>a</sup>; a temple of Bacchus still remains there, with a statue in the open air <sup>b</sup>, and another statue in the temple, which the women only who perform the secret rites are permitted to see. The summit of Taygetum, called Taletum, rises above Bryseæ; it is said to be sacred to the sun, to which, among other things, horses are here sacrificed: the same religious custom prevails among the Persians. Not far from Taletum is Evoras, which produces wild goats and other wild animals; indeed, every part of Taygetum affords a chase of goats and hogs, and, in still greater plenty, of stags and bears. The interval between Taletum and Evoras is called Theræ <sup>c</sup>. Not far from the summits of Taygetum there is a temple of Ceres Eleusinia. Lapithæum is situated fifteen stades from thence. Derrhium is not far from the latter. Here is a statue of Diana Derrhiatis in the open air, and by it a fountain called Anonus. About twenty stades beyond Derrhium is Harpleia, which borders on the plain.” <sup>d</sup>

Pharis was one of the Homeric cities of Laconia, and Strabo agrees with Pausanias in

<sup>a</sup> Ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ταῦγέτου χωρίον, ἔνθα πόλις πότε ᾤκειτο Βρυσεῖαι.

Βρυσειάς τ' ἐνέμοντο, &c.—  
Hom. Il. B. v. 583.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ.

<sup>c</sup> The Hunting Place.

<sup>d</sup> Ἄρπλεια, καθήκοντα ἀχρὶ τοῦ πεδίου.

placing it in the plain of Sparta. It appears from the preceding extract to have been to the southward of Amyclæ and near the Eurotas, data which fix it with great appearance of probability at Vafío<sup>a</sup>, where a remarkable height, similar to that of Aía Kyriakí rises from the right bank of the river. I have been informed, since I passed near the site, that some remains are to be seen there of a subterraneous building, similar to those at Mycenæ; a circumstance which is in accordance with that of Pharis having chiefly flourished before the Trojan war. The river now called Takhúrti, which joins the *Eurotas* a little above Vafío, being the most considerable stream in the plain, next to the *Tiasa*, is probably the *Phellia*; in this case, the words παρὰ Ἀμύκλας, in Pausanias, must have been intended to signify “beyond Amyclæ.”

Leaving this river on the left, and proceeding in the direction of the highest summit of Taygetum, we arrive at the position under the cliffs near Sinan Bey and not far from Sklavokhóri, where I found a fountain and a sculptured marble, and which thus corresponds exactly with *Bryseæ*, if we suppose the peak of St. Elias to be the ancient *Taletum*. Of this, I think, there can be little doubt, as it cannot be supposed that any but the highest and most conspicuous of the

<sup>a</sup> Βαφιδόν.

summits would have been in preference held sacred to the sun, or Apollo, who, we know, delighted in lofty mountains<sup>a</sup>. *Evoras*, a word synonymous with the modern Greek Kaloskopí or the Italian Belvedere, was probably the broader summit, nearer to Mistrá, now called Paximádhi. It confirms all these points of comparative geography, that the opening behind Sklavokhóri is the natural entrance into the upper *Taygetum* from the parts of the plain about *Amyclæ* and *Pharis*; it seems evidently therefore to be the place near Bryseæ, where the road issued from the mountain.

As to the situation of the Eleusinium, or as to those of Lapithæum, Derrhium, and Harpleia, it is impossible to give any opinion without examining that elevated valley in detail, more especially as Pausanias leaves doubtful the direction followed by him from the Eleusinium to Harpleia, whether northward or southward. I am inclined to think it was the former, because the finest part of the Taygetic district lies towards the northern end. In this case, Mistrá, which is the natural exit of the mountain at that extremity, may be the site of Harpleia<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Homer. Hymn. in Apoll.

<sup>b</sup> There is another conjecture which may be made

as to the fine position of Mistrá, namely, that it is the site of the Messe of Homer,



The mountainous part of the Laconice, situated eastward of the Eurotas, contained some inland towns, which are thus described by Pausanias <sup>a</sup>. “Geranthræ is situated inland <sup>b</sup>, from Aciriæ, at a distance of 120 stades. In the way thither, there is a town called Palæa. Geranthræ was a city before the Heracleidæ came into the Peloponnesus; after that event the Dorians of Sparta expelled the ancient inhabitants, and sent to Geranthræ a colony of their own. It is now a portion of the Eleuthero-Lacones. There is a temple and a grove of Mars, in which an annual festival is held, when women are not permitted to enter the grove. The Agora contains sources of water good for drinking <sup>c</sup>. In the Acropolis there is a temple of Apollo, containing the head of a statue made of ivory, of which the remaining part was destroyed by fire together with the former temple. Marius, another city of the Eleuthero-Lacones, is distant from Ge-

whose arrangement of the Laconic cities seems to place Messe in the κοίλη Λακιδαίμων, or plain of Sparta, rather than at Messa, now Mezapó, in the Messeniæ Gulf. The inscription with the ethnic Μίσσιος which I found at Mistrá, is favourable to such a conjecture; and the rocks of

Mistrá are not less productive than those of Mezapó of the wild pigeons, which suggested to Homer the epithet of πολυτρήρων applied by him to Messe. See Vol. I. p. 287.

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Lacon. c. 22.

<sup>b</sup> ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω.

<sup>c</sup> περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν σφισιν αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ποτίμων εἰσὶν ὑδάτων.

ranthræ one hundred stades. Here is a temple of All the Gods standing in a grove in which there are springs of water; there are sources also in the sanctuary<sup>a</sup> of Diana: in short, there is no place which more abounds in perennial fountains than Marius. Beyond this city<sup>b</sup> there is another inland town<sup>c</sup>, called Glyppia; to another<sup>d</sup>, named Selinus, there is a road of twenty stades from Geranthræ. Such are the inland places above Acriæ.”<sup>e</sup>

Immediately after this passage, Pausanias proceeds to describe the towns of the Eleuthero-Lacones on the eastern coast of Laconia, beginning with Asopus, making the circuit of the *Bæatic* peninsula, and then following the eastern coast northward as far as Prasiæ, which was the last of the Eleuthero-Laconic towns in that direction. In the passage just cited, therefore, it is evident, that he intended previously to dispose of all the inland places which he had not already introduced to the reader's notice, and that the towns here enumerated were the only places of note in the mountainous country lying eastward of the Eurotas.

That Geranthræ was situated towards the plain of Sparta is rendered probable by its having shared the fate of Amyclæ and Pharis,

<sup>a</sup> ἱερῶν.

<sup>b</sup> ὑπὲρ τὸ πόλισμα.

<sup>c</sup> κώμην.

<sup>d</sup> κώμην.

<sup>e</sup> ἄνω πρὸς ὑπερῶν.

when the ancient Achaian inhabitants of these three places were obliged by the Doric possessors of Sparta<sup>a</sup> to retire from Laconia. I have already remarked, that there are said to be some remains of Hellenic antiquity at Ieráki or Gheráki, for both modes of writing the name are used, the sounds in modern Greek being almost the same. Gheráki occupies a commanding position on the south-western face of the mountain, in a place abounding in water, and it adjoins the ruins of a town of the lower empire. Its distance of eleven geographical miles in direct distance from the site of Acriæ, corresponds exactly with the 120 stades of road distance which Pausanias indicates between the two places. The route thither must have passed through or near Apídhia, which may, therefore, stand on the site of *Palæa*<sup>b</sup>. 'Ιεράκιον existed under that name in the fourteenth century, and appears at that time to have been one of the principal places in Laconia<sup>c</sup>.

Of the other towns mentioned in the passage of Pausanias under consideration, Glyppia is

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 365. Pausan. Lacon. c. 2. 22.

<sup>b</sup> This is evidently the same place which is named Pleia in the text of Livy, and where Philopœmen surprised the camp of Nabis, who was then engaged in the siege of Gythium, and had stationed a

third of his forces at Pleia, for the purpose of covering the approaches to Gythium by land. Liv. l. 35. c. 27. The historian observes, that Pleia was situated above Leucæ and Acriæ (imminet Leucis et Acriis).

<sup>c</sup> Pachymer, l. 1. c. 31.

the only one concerning the situation of which we derive assistance from any other author; for I take it for granted that it was the same as the town of the Glympenses<sup>a</sup>, which I have already had occasion to allude to as the place where Lycurgus, in the second year of the Social War, making a forced march from Sparta, defeated the Messenians, who had moved from Tegea through the Argolis, intending to join Philip to the southward of Sparta<sup>b</sup>. Glympia was at that time included in the Argive community, together with Prasiæ, Cyphanta, and Zarax, whence it may be presumed that it was on the eastern face of the mountains, not far from the coast, on which those three maritime towns were situated. It seems probable, moreover, from the incidents attending the march and defeat of the Messenians, that Glympia was not far from the Cynurian passes leading to Sparta, though not absolutely in the Cynuria, as Pausanias does not name Glympia, when treating of Thyrea and the neighbouring towns.—To these circumstances, as leading to the position of Glympia, it may be added, that the object of the Messenians having been that of entering the valley of the Eurotas, not at Sparta, but to the southward of that city, it is probable

<sup>a</sup> Γλυμπείς.

Chapter IV.

<sup>b</sup> Polyb. 1. 5. c. 20. See

that they had attained, previously to crossing the mountain, some place to the southward of the *Tanus*, or pass of Kastánitza, which was the direct road to *Sellasia* and *Sparta*. Glympia therefore seems to have been about Prastó or Lenídhi, more probably at the former, as it is nearer to Sparta; for that the distance of Glympia from that city was not very great, may be inferred from the circumstance of Lycurgus having obtained such speedy information of the arrival of the Messenians at Glympia, and having made that sudden attack upon them which frustrated their expedition.

Polichna was another town which appears, from the same historian, to have stood on the maritime side of the eastern ridge of Laconia. About two years before the time of the transaction just alluded to, Lycurgus invaded the Argeia, to which province the eastern coast then belonged, and took Polichna, Prasiæ, Leucæ, and Cyphanta, in the first attack; but Glympia and Zarax he was unable to make himself master of. Leucæ I presume to have been the same as the Leuce mentioned by Strabo, and which I suppose to have stood in the plain of Finíki<sup>a</sup>; the Argives may have been at that time in the temporary possession of it, in consequence of its proximity to Epidaurus Limera, which was

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 363. See Chapter VI.



then one of their towns. Polichna, perhaps, was situated at or near the modern Kunúpia.

The situation of *Marius* seems to be indicated by the name of Marí, in the road from Gheráki over the mountain to Kremastí, which last stands in a lofty situation above the port of Kyparíssia. Kato Marí, or Lower Marí, so called to distinguish it from an upper village of the same name, is reckoned four hours from Gheráki and three from Kremastí; and four computed hours answer very well to the hundred stades between *Geranthræ* and *Marius*.

It is evident, from the words of Pausanias cited above, that Selinus and Marius were situated in different directions from *Geranthræ*; if Marius lay eastward, therefore, Selinus was probably to the northward of Gheráki, on the western face of the mountain. Thus situated, the non-occurrence of its name among the places in the possession of the Argives in the time of the tyrant Lycurgus is perfectly accounted for. In the text of Pausanias the distance of Selinus from *Geranthræ* is only twenty stades, or about two miles and a half; but as such a proximity is very improbable in a country of no great resources, or where, at least, the towns were widely separated, I am inclined to think there is some mistake in the number of stades, and that the remains of Seli-

nus, if any exist, will be found nearer the middle distance between Gheráki and the position of *Sellasia*, perhaps about Zarafóna.

March 26.—I leave the southern extremity of Mistrá this morning at 9.50, and, descending into the mulberry plantations, ride through them till 10.15, when, crossing the northern branch of the *Tiasa*, we enter the hills on the other side of it,—soon after cross the *Cnacion*, Trypiótiko,—and at 10.45, in an uncultivated valley watered by a little stream, cross the ruins of the aqueduct of Sparta, of which one of the piers is here standing, lofty and well built. From hence we cross the range of hills which, branching from Xerovúni, as the part of the Taygetic range near Longástra is called, slopes gradually till it terminates at the northern extremity of *Sparta*. At 11 descend into the vale of the *Eurotas*, about four miles above *Sparta*. The valley of the *Eurotas*, which is narrow and appears to be often overflowed, is grown with arabóstari. Near the summit of the steep height which rises from the opposite or left bank, stands the village of St. John Theológos, at a distance of three miles on our right. At 11.5, Kladhá, a small zevgaláti, is below it near the river side. At 11.18 we cross over some low hills, leaving the *Eurotas* flowing through a gorge on our right; but in ten minutes descend again upon

its right bank, where, at the foot of some steep heights which leave only a narrow path between them and the bank, I find an inscribed marble lying by the road side. Here also are the foundations of a Hellenic wall on the edge of the river's bank, and a little beyond it some marks of the ancient road in a rock at the foot of the hill. Above this spot I perceive a cavern in the rocks with two openings, one of which appears to have been fashioned by art; a little beyond it there is a semicircular sepulchral niche, like those at Delphi and other places. The peasants call the place *στοὺς Φούρνους*<sup>a</sup>. Skura, a small *zevgaláti* and tower, stands on the heights on the opposite side of the river. Having halted here ten minutes, we continue to follow the narrow vale of the *Eurotas*, the road passing upon the foot of the hills which border the western side of the valley, till, at 12.50, we make our meridian halt on the river's bank, at a spot where the ravine opens into an extensive valley. Low rocky eminences here descend to the water; on the opposite side, the foot of a rugged mountain, crowned by two peaked rocks, on each of which stands a chapel, is separated only from the river by a narrow grassy level; where the bank of

<sup>a</sup> The Ovens.

the river for the length of 200 yards is supported by a Hellenic wall: there remain three or four courses of an irregular species of masonry, nearly approaching to the second order. On the farther side of the meadow some very copious sources issue from the foot of the rocks, and form a stream which joins the river at the southern end of the meadow, where the wall ends. The wall seems to intimate the site of the ancient Pellana, where Pausanias<sup>a</sup> notices only a temple of Æsculapius and two fountains<sup>b</sup>, Pellanis and Lanceia<sup>c</sup>.

It may be worth while to trace the route of the Greek traveller all the way hither from Sparta. "Near the walls of that city," he says, "on the road into Arcadia, are a statue of Minerva Pareia, in the open air, and near it a temple of Achilles. Between these and the statue of Ædo, [Modesty,] which is thirty stades distant from the city, stands the monument of the Horse<sup>d</sup>, a little beyond which are seven columns, symbolical of the seven planets,—then the temenus of Cranius Stemmatias<sup>d</sup>,—and the temple of Diana Mysia. The statue of Ædo is said to have been dedi-

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Lacon. c. 20, 21.

<sup>b</sup> πηγαι.

<sup>c</sup> Λαγκεία.

<sup>d</sup> Ἰππου μνημα. Tyndareus was said to have here sacri-

ficed a horse and administered an oath of alliance to the suitors of Helene.

<sup>d</sup> Apollo Carneius crowned?

cated by Icarius, father-in-law of Ulysses. When Ulysses had set out from Sparta with his bride, Icarius followed his car to this place, entreating his daughter to return and live with him. Ulysses stopped and gave his bride her choice: she replied only by throwing her veil over her face, which Icarius taking for a negative returned to Sparta. Twenty stades farther, the tomb of Ladas is above the road, which here passes very near to the river Eurotas. Proceeding towards Pellana occurs the place called Characoma, and then Pellana, formerly a city. One hundred stades beyond the latter is Belemina. There is no place in Laconia more abundantly supplied with water; for besides the Eurotas, which flows near it, Belemina contains perennial fountains."

The tomb of Ladas having been distant fifty stades from Sparta, at a place where the road touched the bank of the Eurotas, corresponds, both in description and in position, to the pass at 11.28, where I observed marks of the ancient road in the rock, and above it a cavern and sepulchral niche. The latter is probably the tomb of Ladas, for Pausanias describes it as being *above* the road<sup>a</sup>. Unfortunately, he does not inform us at what distance beyond this point Pellana stood,

<sup>a</sup> ὑπὲρ τὴν λεώφορον.

nor on which bank of the river. It may be thought, perhaps, that his silence on this head is an argument that it was on the same bank on which he had described the preceding objects, namely, the right; but on the other hand, he does not state on which bank stood Belemina, the next place named by him after Pellana, though it was certainly on the left. In the absence of better authority, I think that the Hellenic wall on the left bank, and the fountains answering to those which he mentions, are strong presumptions that Pellana occupied that position.

At 1.37 we move again:—our road now enters an open country, varied with small hills, which are connected with the last slopes of the range of Xerovúni. We leave the river considerably on the right, flowing near the foot of the heights which inclose the valley to the eastward, and on the side of which, at 1.47, Konidhítza<sup>a</sup> is two miles to the right, in direct distance. At 1.55, cross a large stream, flowing to the *Eurotas* from the mountain on the left. Here Demíro, a small village, is one mile and a half on the left, in the plain, and Kastrí three miles distant in the same direction, on the side of the mountain. The tributary of the *Eurotas* descends from a rocky gorge, half way between

<sup>a</sup> Κονιδίτζα.



Kastrí and Ghiorghítza, which last is situated on the face of an advanced height of the range of *Taygetum*, in a very steep and lofty situation. The highest summit of this part of the range is called Korakolíthi (Crow-stone), or Málevo, from the Slavonic *Male*, mountain.

Ghiorghítza is a large Greek village, standing among many gardens and cultivated terraces. At the foot of the same height is situated Perivólia, inhabited by Turks, and about six Greek families; there is a mosk, and the houses are prettily dispersed amidst large groves of the mulberry and olive. Here we arrive at 2.15, having travelled half an hour after turning out of the direct road to the left. The passage of Mount Korakolíthi is not difficult from the villages along its eastern face to those situated in the upper valleys of the river *Nedon*, which joins the sea at Kalamáta. The best route in this season, and whenever there is snow, is from Kastaniá to Tzítzova, a distance of three hours: the former is situated behind Kastrí, the latter is among olive woods, on the opposite slope of the mountain, three hours distant from Kalamáta. Trypi, Bordhónia, and Kastritzi, Kastrí, situated on the eastern face of Korakolíthi, are all mentioned by Phranza, as having resisted and been taken by Mahomet the Second, in 1460, after he had occupied Mistrá. He then proceeded against Lon-

dári and Gardhíki. The annexed is a sketch of the position of the villages on the *Messenian* side, which I made last year, from the description of my janissary Amús.



March 27. At 8.30 we move from Perivólia through the mulberry grounds, with which the village is surrounded for a great distance, and proceed obliquely, to regain the main route. At 9.4, a little beyond a small kalývia of Ghiorghítza, pass a fine Kefaló-vrysi, or source of water, issuing from the foot of the rocks, and running rapidly down towards the *Eurotas*, which is here called Iri. Behind this kalývia there are some remains of the walls of a Hellenic city,

probably those of Ægys. The entire valley I conceive to have formed the Laconic Tripolis, which bordered on the Megalopolitis<sup>a</sup>, and of which one of the cities was Pellana<sup>b</sup>. The other two were probably Ægys and Belemina. We enter some low hills, among which are plantations of mulberry trees, belonging to Ghiorghítza. At 9.30 cross another tributary of the *Eurotas*. At 9.42 pass another copious Kefaló-vrysi, where are some ancient squared blocks, and a small piece of foundation in its place, on the edge of the spring; here are the ruins of a khan. We now begin to ascend some rocky heights, and, having attained the summit, cross a stony plain, and then pass over steep hills of no great height, covered with shrubs. The *Eurotas* is concealed at some distance to the right in a deep glen, between the two ranges of hills which before inclosed a broad valley, but are now separated only by the river. Those on the eastern side form, as I conceive, the district anciently called Sciritis. Kólina, which is situated among them, may be the site of Ium, or the town of the Iatæ, mentioned by Xenophon<sup>c</sup>.

At 10.35, on a summit which rises from the right bank of the river, we arrive at a Dervéni-house in ruins, and descend into a narrow val-

<sup>a</sup> Liv. l. 35. c. 27.

<sup>c</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6. c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Polyb. l. 4. c. 81.

ley, watered by a stream from the mountains on our left, where, on the slope, in a situation similar to that of Ghiorghítza and Kastrí, is Longaníko, another large Greek village. The part of the *Taygetic* range above it is well wooded with oak on the middle slopes, and with fir towards the summit. The lower parts are covered with plantations of the vine and mulberry, belonging to Longaníko and Petrína. We descend along the right bank of the aforesaid stream, and at 10.50 cross it a little above its junction with the *Eurotas*, which now flows along the western side of Mount Khelmós, in a small valley grown with mulberries, belonging to Longaníko. Below its junction with the Longaníko stream, the *Eurotas* turns to the south-east. In the gorge on the left bank of the river, on the foot of Khelmós, I see Ai Iríni<sup>a</sup> a metókhí of the monastery of Saint Nicholas, behind which, as I was informed at Tripolitzá by Kyr Ianatáki, who is a native of Ghiorghítza, there are some Hellenic ruins; it is said also, that there are vestiges of a Hellenic fortress on the summit of Khelmós, probably part of the same ancient city. Though I cannot perceive any of these remains of antiquity, I have no doubt of the correctness of the information, or that the ruins are those of Belemína; the dis-

<sup>a</sup> Ἁγία Εὐφρόνη.

tance we have travelled from the remains of Pellana agreeing very well with the 100 stades which Pausanias places between the two towns.

Khelmós<sup>a</sup> is a beautiful round hill, covered above with groves of oak, prinári, wild olive, and a variety of shrubs, and adorned below with some open lawns of pasture, mixed with cultivated ground.

It is said that Captain Nicetas and the only remaining body of the Kleftes, amounting to forty, (a favourite number, and meaning little more than the English word “several”,) came the other day to the village of Petrína, and received bread from one of the inhabitants, who, in course, was obliged to join them, or at least to fly, as his head, by the Pashá’s order, was by this action forfeited. The thieves went afterwards into the mountain on the west of Londári, where they were attacked by their pursuers, and two or three persons were killed in the action. They have since retired to Máni, and are followed by a body of the Pashá’s men, and about 400 armed Greeks from the vilayéti of Londári.

After losing eight minutes, we pass up the valley of the *Eurotas*, and cross that river at 11.18, a little below a spot where it receives two other streams, one flowing from the part of the mountain between Longaníko and Petrína, another from the northward, from the hills

<sup>a</sup> Χελμός.

which connect the mountains Khelmós and Tzimbarú<sup>a</sup>. The junction of these three streams I conceive to have been the position of the Hermæum, near Belemina, which marked the boundary of Laconia towards the Megalopolitis, as the Hermæ on Mount Parnon marked its limits on the side of the Tegeatis and Argeia; for Pausanias describes the former Hermæum as being “near Belemina”<sup>b</sup>, and adds that the Arcadians pretended that Belemina had once belonged to them, a circumstance which, no less than the former expression, tends to shew that the Hermæum was not far from that city. The principal branch of the Eurotas, or that which we crossed, comes from the eastward, down a valley on the northern side of Mount Khelmós. We enter this valley, and soon after, re-crossing the river, halt at 11.38 at a mill, five minutes above which, a stream of water issues from the foot of the rocky mountain on the northern side of the valley. This is the main source of the Iri, or *Eurotas*. It is immediately joined by a rivulet, from the head of the valley to the eastward, which in summer is very scanty, if not entirely dry. Two miles on this side of Londári is the source of the Kutufarína stream, the most distant south-eastern tributary of the *Alpheius*; in summer it is dry, and even at the source water can only be had by sinking jars in

<sup>a</sup> Τζιμπάρου.<sup>b</sup> κατὰ Βελεμίναν.



the ground, which, after some time, become filled. The most distant south-western tributary of the *Alpheius*, as I have before stated, rises at the village of Ghianéus, or Ianéus<sup>a</sup>, two hours above Londári, in the mountain which lies between the summits Makryplái and Korakolíthi. The river of Ghianéus, joined by some smaller streams, flows through a valley, included between Makryplái and the mountain above Londári, leaves Londári on the right, and joins the other branches of the *Alpheius* in the plain before that town. I found a man of Ghianéus at the mill near the sources of the *Eurotas*, who told me that the springs of Ghianéus are very copious, and that they do not fail in summer. This man had fled from his village on account of the excesses committed by the Turks who are in pursuit of the thieves. I have already had occasion to remark, that the river of Ghianéus is probably the *Gatheates*, and the Kutufarina the *Theius*.

Quitting the mill at 12.23, we once more cross the *Eurotas*, and, leaving the great sources at the foot of the northern mountain, follow the left bank of the torrent or smaller stream from the eastward, until, having again crossed it, we leave it issuing from a narrow vale on the right, and ascend the hills which connect Khelmós with Tzimbarú. At the village of Kutzinú<sup>b</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> Γιανίους.<sup>b</sup> Κουτζίνοῦ.

where, among many ruins, are a few inhabited huts, we leave the road to Gardhíki on the left, and follow the summits of the heights until we pass over a part of the rocky ridge of Mount Tzimbarú, and see, two miles on the right, the large monastery of Ai Nikóla<sup>a</sup>, not far from the village of Kalteziá. After winding among the rocky heights, and passing over a small elevated plain, we begin to descend towards the plain which extends to Frangó-vrysi.—At 2.48 enter the plain near the small hamlet of Kotrobútzia : this remains a quarter of a mile on the right, and the village of Pápari, at the foot of Mount Tzimbarú, a mile on the left,—then crossing the plain so as to leave the marsh which is at the foot of Mount Tzimbarú a mile on the left, we enter some low hills on the opposite side of the plain towards the mountains of the *Tegeátis*; and in a hollow among steeper heights arrive, at 3½, at the tjiftlik of Barbítza, composed of a few miserable huts with two Turkish pyrghi. In one of these I procure a very tolerable lodging, and not an unwelcome one, as the rain has fallen at intervals all day, with fog and cold, a common condition of the Arcadian climate at this season. The pace of our agoyatic horses yesterday and to-day has been much less than the ordinary pace of my horse.

On quitting *Laconia*, and especially on quit-

<sup>a</sup> "Άγιος Νικόλαος.

ting it by one of its northern passes, one cannot help reflecting how much the former destiny of this province of Greece, like that of most other countries, depended upon its geographical structure and position. Those natural barriers which marked the limits of the several states of ancient Greece, and which were the real origin of the division of that country into many small independent states, from whence arose all the good and bad effects resulting from the consequent spirit of jealousy and rivalry, are no where more remarkable than in the Laconice. The rugged sea-coast, which forms three-fourths of its outline, combined with the steepness, height, and continuity of the mountains on the land side, gave it that security from hostile invasion which Euripides<sup>a</sup> characterized by the words *δυσεῖσβολος πολεμίους*, and which made even Epaminondas, after the battle of Leuctra, hesitate to invade it, although urged by the Arcadians, the men best able to shew how the difficulties were to be surmounted<sup>b</sup>. It is to the strength of the frontiers and the comparatively large extent of country inclosed within them, that we must trace the primary cause of the

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Strabon. p. 366.

<sup>b</sup> Οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἤκοσον μὲν ταῦτα, ἀντελuzziζοντο δὲ ὅτι δυσεμβολιωτάτη ἡ Λακωνικὴ ἐλέγετο εἶναι. Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5. c. 5.

Οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμινώndan ὀρῶντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν δυσεῖσβολον οὔσαν. Diodor. l. 15. c. 63.

Lacedæmonian power. These enabled the people, when strengthened by a rigid military discipline, and put in motion by an ambitious and exclusive spirit, first to triumph over their weaker neighbours of Messenia, by this additional strength to overawe the disunited republics of Arcadia, and at length for centuries to hold an acknowledged military superiority over every other state in Greece.

It is remarkable, that all the principal passes into Laconia lead to one point. This point is Sparta, a fact which shews at once how well the position of that city was chosen for the defence of the province, and how well it was adapted, especially as long as it continued to be unwalled, to maintain a perpetual vigilance and readiness for defence, which are the surest means of offensive success.

The natural openings into the plain of Sparta are only two: one by the upper Eurotas, as the course of that river above Sparta may be termed, the other by its only large branch the *Ænus*, now the *Kelefína*, which, as I have already stated, joins the Eurotas opposite to the north-eastern extremity of Sparta. All the natural approaches to Sparta from the northward lead to the one or the other of these two valleys. On the side of Messenia the northerly prolongation of Mount Taygetum, which joins Mount Lycæum at the

pass of Andania, now the pass of Makryplái, furnishes a continued barrier of the loftiest kind, admitting only of routes easily defensible, and which, whether from the Cromitis of Arcadia to the south-westward of the modern Londári, from the Stenycleric plain, from the plain of the Pamisus, or from Pharæ, now Kalamáta, all descend into the valley of the upper Eurotas, and conduct to Sparta by Pellana. There was indeed a branch of the last-mentioned route which descended into the Spartan plain at the modern Mistrá; and which must have been a very frequented communication between Sparta and the lower part of Messenia; but, like the other direct passes over Taygetum, it was much more difficult and defensible than those which I have called the natural entrances of the province. The castle of Mistrá is an admirable post for the protection of this entrance into the Lacedæmonian valley, though we hear nothing of it in history, probably because the military ascendancy of the Spartans seldom left them any thing to fear on the side of Messenia.

From the south-eastern branch of the plain of Megalopolis, which is watered by the Theius, as well as from the vale of Asea, the routes passed by the foot of Mount Belemina, which thus became an important frontier fortress in that quarter; after having passed Belemina,

the road led, like those from the Cromitis and from Messenia, to the pass of Pellana. Towards the Tegeatice and Thyreatis, the routes after crossing, in the former direction the rugged and barren country which unites Mount Parnon with the hills bordering the left bank of the upper Eurotas, and in the latter the steep and lofty recesses of Parnon, united on the Cœnus near Sellasia. Thus Sellasia was an outwork of Sparta towards the Tegeatis and Argolis, Pellana towards the Megalopolitis and Messenia.

There was an important district in the northern part of Laconia which Pausanias has not noticed, although it gave name to one of the most distinguished bodies of the Lacedæmonian army, and was an important part of the Laconic frontier on the side of Arcadia; its name was Sciritis<sup>a</sup>. It consisted of the rugged and barren hills rising in one point to a considerable height, which occupy the triangular space contained between the upper Eurotas westward and the passes eastward, through which leads the direct road from Tegea to Sparta by the modern Krya Vrysi, Stenúri, and Krevatá Khan, the apex of the triangle being near Sparta and the base towards the valleys of Asea and Tegea.

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. 1. 5. c. 33, 67. Hellen. 1. 5. c. 2.—1. 6. c. 5.  
—Xen. Inst. Cyr. 1. 4. c. 2. —1. 7. c. 4.



Diodorus <sup>a</sup>, in describing the celebrated invasion of Laconia by Epaminondas, when Sparta was insulted for the first time by the presence of a foreign enemy, says, that the invaders divided their army into four bodies, which were ordered to march by four different routes and to meet at Sellasia; the Argives by the direct road from Argos to that place, that is to say, through the Thyreatis; the second by the passes leading from Tegea to Sparta, or the modern road by the Krya Vrysi and Stenúri of Arákhova; the third by Sciritis; and the fourth, consisting of the Eleians, by valleys of easy access which had been left without defence. The historian omits to specify more particularly the route of the Eleians; but as the direct road, from Elis to Sparta ascended the valley of the Alpheius near Olympia to the sources of its branch the Theius, and from thence descended the Eurotas; as this was the only principal entrance into the Laconice remaining to be named by the historian; and as it is naturally the easiest, and would present little difficulty when not defended at Belemina and Pellana, it seems evidently to have been the route of the Eleians. The Sciritis, we may safely conclude therefore, was the rugged district which I have men-

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. l. 15. c. 64.

tioned; a conspicuous hill, its highest point, which I have before had occasion to remark as being near the modern village of Kólina, seems the most probable site of the fortress Ium, which Xenophon, in relating the same events, shews to have been the most important place in Sciritis. The latter historian is less particular than Diodorus in the details of this famous invasion, though the same inference in regard to Sciritis may be deduced from the one as from the other. Xenophon speaks only of one body, separate from the army of the Thebans and their allies, namely, that of the Arcadians, who, he tells us, marched into Laconia by the Sciritis: he makes no mention of the two routes by which the Argives and the Eleians are said, by Diodorus, to have invaded the country; but, having stated that the Thebans had arrived at Mantinea previously to their movement towards Sparta, adds that they entered Laconice by the way of Caryæ; that the Lacedæmonians in Sciritis would have opposed the invaders more effectually by occupying the passes leading to Caryæ than by defending the Sciritis; and that the two divisions of the invading army, having met at Caryæ, proceeded from thence to take and destroy Sellasia. In saying that the Arcadians who marched through the Sciritis joined the Bœotians from the Tegeatice at Caryæ, he

seems to me not only to concur with the other authorities as to the situation of the Sciritis, but to confirm also what has already been stated as to the relative positions of Caryæ and Selasia.

March 28. The waters in the valley of Barbítza make a circuit of the heights, and flow into the valto or marsh which occupies the middle of the plain, and extends to the foot of Mount Tzimbarú. I ride this morning, in a quarter of an hour, from Barbítza to Paputzí<sup>a</sup>, another tjiftlik with a pyrgo, belonging to an agá of Tripolitzá, but smaller than Barbítza. In both places I purchase several good coins from the peasants. I was told at Paputzí that Barbítza was the site of a large Paleó-khora, or ancient town, and the form of the hills above it, with flat rocky summits, countenances the supposition, though I could not perceive any remains of buildings. As to the coins, it was stated that the greater part had been found not at Barbítza, but in the fields near Frangó-vrysi. The tradition as to Barbítza however, is not to be overlooked, when coupled with the strong probability of this having been the position of the town, which possessed the south-eastern side of the basin, of which the northern part belonged to Asea. I am inclined to place the ancient Eutæa at Barbítza. That

<sup>a</sup> Παπουτζί.

Eutæa could not have been at any great distance from this situation, seems evident from Xenophon<sup>a</sup>. When the Mantinenses, taking advantage of the effects of the defeat of the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, were rebuilding their walls, Agesilaus, king of Sparta, having in vain endeavoured to persuade them to desist, and irritated moreover at the assistance which they were giving at the same moment to the party opposed to the interests of Sparta at Tegea, marched into the Mantinice, at the head of his Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with some Arcadians who had not joined the Arcadic league, formed after the battle of Leuctra. Agesilaus, marching from Sparta, first took possession of Eutæa, a town on the frontier<sup>b</sup>; here he learnt that all the combatants of the place had gone to Asea, to join the other Arcadians, who were there assembling, for the purpose of assisting the Mantinenses. The next day he marched to Tegea, and on the following, entering the Mantinice, assumed a position under the mountains, to the westward of Mantinea. The Arcadians from Asea followed the same route, and joined the Mantinenses, Agesilaus not having thought it prudent to interrupt them. After remaining five days in the Mantinice, Agesilaus, finding that the enemy were determined not to

<sup>a</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6. c. 5.<sup>b</sup> πύλιν ὁμόρονον.

engage, began early on the morning of the sixth, after breakfast<sup>a</sup>, to draw off his army from his position in the plain before the city, to that which he had assumed on his first arrival; when, none of the Arcadians appearing, he proceeded with all speed to Eutæa, where he arrived late at night<sup>b</sup>. It is clear that Agesilaus, in advancing from Sparta, on this occasion, did not follow the direct road to Tegea, by Phylace, none of the known places on that road being mentioned by the historian; he must therefore have passed the Laconic frontier, either in the Belemnatis or Sciritis, in either case entering the basin which lies to the northward and eastward of Mount Tzimbarù. Eutæa consequently stood in this valley, not far from the Laconic frontier, and not far also from Asea, as appears both from the circumstance concerning its combatants mentioned by the historian, and from Eutæa having been included with Asea in the division of Arcadia called Mænalia<sup>c</sup>. The position of Barbitza is exactly conformable to these premises; and its distance from Mantinea, which is about twenty-two English miles by the road, corresponds perfectly with the circumstances of the retreat of Agesilaus.

<sup>a</sup> πρὸ ἄριστοπαισός μινος.

<sup>b</sup> καίπερ μάλα ὀψιζών.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 27.

I leave Paputzí at 8, and proceeding among the low heights which are the termination of the mountains on the east, soon perceive the Paleó-kastro of Frangóvrysi through an opening in these hills.

Leaving the fountain and khan of Frangóvrysi about a mile on the left, and taking a road to the right of that by which I approached Tripolitzá last year, we continue to skirt the hills on the eastern side of the valley, until we ascend them, after having halted five minutes in the plain. At 9.7 arrive at the summit of the pass of Mount Krávári, from whence the road begins to descend towards the plains of *Pallantium* and *Tegea*. The pass is a natural opening in the rocky heights of the mountain. Just in this spot, by the road side, I find the ruins of a temple, of which the foundations still remain, together with several fragments of Doric columns, formed of the same rock as the mountain itself. Some of the flutings measure three inches and two-thirds, some four inches. Of the diameter of the column I could not obtain a good measurement. There cannot, I think, be any doubt that these are remains of the temple said to have been dedicated by Ulysses to Minerva Soteira and Neptune, after his return home from Troy; for Pausanias describes it as situated on the summit of Mount Boreium, in the road from Asea



to the Choma, or Dyke, where the road to Pallantium diverged from that of Tegea. Even without the existence of the temple, the natural pass would be sufficient to assure us that the ancient road crossed the mountain exactly in this spot. The description of Pausanias seems to shew, that the temple was nearly in the same condition in his time as it is now: the secluded situation, which has been little frequented as a road since Tripolitzá became the chief town in this part of the Moréa, has probably tended to preserve the remains.

At 9.18 descend from the temple of *Soteira*, through a ravine of Mount *Boreium*, into a part of the plain of *Pallantium*, about a mile to the left of the Katavóthra of the Taki, and over against the village of Birbáti, which stands on the side of the rocky ridge of Thana. In the descent I left another ravine on the right at 9½, along which ascends the road to Mánari, a small village, not far distant. On the opposite side of the Taki, on the face of the mountain, appears the large village of Kerasiá. After crossing the plain of *Pallantium* we mount the heights of Thana, and at 10.25, leaving that village half a mile on the right, on the summit of the ridge, descend into the great plain, and enter Tripolitzá by the Mistrá Gate. The plain was very muddy and rugged, and the paved

road over it execrable. It is said that many ancient coins are found at Thana; if this be correct, it seems to indicate that it was the site of *Pallantium*.

The head of Nicetas is brought in to-day, and exhibited at the tree at the Serai, with another head, and an arm. They belonged to some robbers who were lately killed at the mills behind Kalamatá, when others, to the number of twenty, escaped to Máni; a servant of Nicetas was brought in alive.

It would require a minute examination of the locality in different seasons of the year, either to verify or to contradict, with certainty, the description which Strabo and Pausanias have given of the singularities attending the origin and incipient course of the rivers Alpheius and Eurotas; I regret extremely, therefore, that I have had no opportunity of examining the plains of Asea and Tegea in the middle of summer, when the direction of the waters through the marshes, and the structure of the *katavóthra* might have been apparent; I have little doubt, however, that a part of the ancient belief respecting these rivers was erroneous. Strabo <sup>a</sup> says, “The Alpheius and Eurotas flow from the same place; it is a town <sup>b</sup> of the Megalopolitis, called Asea, where are two fountains near each other: from these

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 343.

<sup>b</sup> κώμη.

issue the two rivers, which, passing under ground for a distance of several stades, re-appear again, and flow, the one to the Laconice, the other to the Pisatis. The Eurotas renews its stream at the beginning of the Bleminatis, passes by Sparta, and then through a long narrow valley, towards that Helos of which the poet speaks; it there falls into the sea, between Gythium, which is the port of Sparta, and Acriæ. The Alpheius, after receiving the Ladon and Erymanthus, and others of smaller note, passes by Phrixa, and through the Pisatis and Triphylia, and by Olympia, and falls into the Sicilian sea, between Pheia and Pitane <sup>a</sup>.”

The words of Pausanias <sup>b</sup> are these, “The Alpheius is of a very different nature from other rivers, for it often conceals itself in the earth, and rises again. First of all, flowing from Phylace and the Symbola, it descends under ground to the Tegeatic plain <sup>c</sup>; then, breaking forth again in the Asæa, it mixes its waters with those of the Eurotas. After having been again concealed by a subterraneous channel, it once more emerges in the place which the

<sup>a</sup> An error perhaps for Epitalium.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 54.

<sup>c</sup> ἐς τὸ πεδῖον κατ᾽ ἔδου τὸ Τεγεατικόν. There is, perhaps,

some imperfection or omission here in the text, for the words do not correctly describe the reality.

Arcadians call Pegæ<sup>a</sup>, [the Fountains]: from thence, passing through the Pisæan land, and by Olympia, it joins the sea towards<sup>b</sup> Cylene, the port of the Eleii. Nor does the agitation of the Adriatic impede its course, but flowing through this great and tempestuous sea, it reaches the island Ortygia, and preserving its name Alpheius, is there mixed with the fountain Arethusa.” In describing the road from Megalopolis to Tegea<sup>c</sup> the same traveller thus again speaks of the head of this river: “The source of the Alpheius is not more than five stades distant from Asea, and is not far from the road<sup>d</sup>: that of the Eurotas is by the road-side<sup>e</sup>. The water of the Eurotas mixes with that of the Alpheius, and they flow together in a common channel for nearly twenty stades, after which they pass through a subterraneous chasm, and emerge again, the Eurotas in the Laconice, the Alpheius at the fountains<sup>f</sup> in the Megalopolitis.”

It is singular that Pausanias, who delighted so much in Greek superstition, has not taken any notice of a fable, relating to the common origin of the two rivers, which is reported by Strabo; namely, that if two chaplets, dedicated

<sup>a</sup> Πηγαι: Πᾶγαι more probably.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 44.

<sup>d</sup> ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ.

<sup>e</sup> παρ’ αὐτῇ τῇ ὁδῷ.

<sup>f</sup> πηγαι.

to the Alpheius and Eurotas, were thrown into the stream near Asea, each would re-appear at the sources of the river to which it was destined<sup>a</sup>. Though Strabo evidently disbelieved this story, it accords exactly with the assertion of Pausanias, as to the union of the waters from the two fountains, and their course in a common channel. It accords also with the actual state of the two sources at Frangóvrysi, (in truth there are three,) which form a single stream below the ruins of Asea, crossing a plain of two miles in breadth, and turning some mills, before the river joins the marsh. To call one of the branches of the united stream the Eurotas, and the other the Alpheius, was a mere effect of the Grecian love of fiction; but the assertion contained in the latter of the two passages of Pausanias may be more worthy of examination, namely, that, after entering a chasm, the two streams separated in the body of the mountain, one making its appearance in the Laconice, (near Belemina, according to Strabo,) the other at the Pegæ of the Megalopolitis. To me it appeared that there is (as Pausanias indicates) only one chasm or katavóthra at the eastern foot of

<sup>a</sup> τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἀρκαδιαν Ἀσέαν ὑποβρύχιον ὥσθ' ἐν ᾧ ποτε τὸν τε Εὐρώταν καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἀναδίδωσιν, ὥστε καὶ πιστευθῆναι μὴ θῶδες τί, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιφημισθέντων

στεφάνων ἑκατέρω καὶ ῥιφίντων ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ῥεῦμα ἀναφαίνεται κατὰ τὸν ἐπιφημισμὸν ἑκάτερος ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ ποταμῷ. Strabo, p. 275.



Mount Tzimbarú, although on the opposite side of the mountain there are two copious sources, which have the appearance of emissories, one contributing largely to the *Alpheius*, the other still more so to the *Eurotas*,—the former, which is at Mármara, near Rhapsomáti, is evidently the ancient Pegæ, the latter, which is at the mill to the northward of Mount Khelmós, may be not improperly called the source of the *Eurotas*. It certainly is possible that the united waters from the valleys which contain Pápari, Barbítza, and Frangóvrysi, although they enter the katavóthra of Tzimbarú in one stream, may separate into two in the body of the mountain; but before credence can be given to such a singularity in the origin of two large rivers, flowing afterwards in opposite directions, it would be desirable to examine the foot of the mountain near the katavóthra, in the middle of summer, when the lake is very low, in order to be satisfied that there are not two chasms, one absorbing the streams from the hills around Barbítza, the other those from Frangóvrysi. Such an examination cannot be, and never could have been, a very easy task, nor, if two *zerethra* exist, could the fact have been very generally known to the ancient Greeks, so that a fable, as in so many other similar instances, might have been easily propagated upon the subject



by the hierarchy. I must repeat, however, that I could not discover any external appearance of two openings, although such caverns or chasms are generally very conspicuous, and easily recognized at a distance. Polybius, a native writer, and one who was not so likely to be led astray by fable as Pausanias, seems not to have had any idea of the Eurotas having passed through Mount Tzimbarú, but only the Alpheius. In criticising an historian of Rhodes, who had misrepresented the position of Lycoa, Polybius says that the Alpheius had a subterraneous course of ten stades, that, re-appearing, it then crossed the Megalopolitan territory, a distance of 200 stades, and that after having received the Lusius it flowed by Lycoa<sup>a</sup>, where it was deep and impassable<sup>b</sup>.

As to the torrent of Gdhani, which, issuing from the north-western extremity of the marsh, passes through a gorge in the ridge of Tzimbarú, and joins the stream of *Pegæ* in the *Megalopolitis* near Rhapsomáti, I was convinced, both by inquiries and actual inspection, that it had very little connection with the discharge of the perennial fountains of Frangóvrysi, being nothing more than a torrent which is dry during

<sup>a</sup> Not Lycoa, but Lycæa, if I am right in my remarks as to those two places. See

Chapter XVIII.

<sup>b</sup> παντελῶς ἄβατος καὶ βαρὺς (βαρὺς ?) Polyb. l. 16. c. 17.

a great part of the year, and carries off only the superficial waters of the lake when they are at the highest, being a bountiful provision of nature to prevent the whole plain from being submerged in the winter. Without denying that there are great singularities in the two rivers, the simple fact seems to be, that the highest and most distant sources, both of the Alpheius and Eurotas, are on the western face of the same great summit, anciently called Parnon, and now Málevo of St. Peter's, not far from the villages of Vérvena and Arákhova. The Alpheius rises from several rivulets near the former place, receives at the *Symbola* the source of Krya Vrysi, (called by Pausanias the source of the Alpheius,) and under the modern name of Sarandapótamo flows to a katavóthra on the southern side of Mount *Cresium*. It is probable that the spring to the eastward of Frangóvrysi, which was the reputed source of the *Alpheius*, is the emissory of the Saranda; that the spring at the khan of Frangóvrysi, or reputed source of the *Eurotas*, is the emissory of the stream of the Taki; and that the united river formed by these, together with a third rivulet from under the walls of *Asea*, which probably had a more western origin, having passed through Mount Tzimbarú, reappears at Mármara.

In the neighbourhood of Arákhova, on the

face of the same great ridge which gives rise to the most distant south-eastern tributary of the Alpheius, is formed the northern feeder of the Cœnus, or principal branch of the Eurotas, while the waters near the Stenúri of Arákhova, on the modern Dervéni from Tripolitzá to Mistrá, taking a western direction, constitute the stream which unites with the great source of the *Eurotas* at the mill in the valley of Khelmós. As to that source, I am not aware of any stream of which it can be the emissory, unless, as I have already hinted, it should be found to be derived from the waters about Barbítza, entering a separate katavóthra in the same plain, or unless the singularity of a separation of the river of *Asea* in the body of the mountain, as believed by the ancients, should prove to be true. The interesting inquiry therefore for future travellers will be the origin of the sources at the mill near Khelmós, the direction of the waters around Barbítza, and the conformation of the katavóthra of Mount Tzimbarú.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### ARCADIA.

Military importance of MANTINEIA.—Approaches to the MANTINICE from the ISTHMUS.—Roads from ARGOS to MANTINEIA.—The *Inert* plain.—Course of the waters in the MANTINICE and TEGEATIS.—Ancient military occurrences in the MANTINICE; particularly the three battles: namely, 1. In the Peloponnesian war, between the Argives and the Lacedæmonians under Agis.—2. That in which the Bœotians under Epaminondas were opposed to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.—3. Between the forces of the Achaian league under Philopœmen and the Lacedæmonians under Machanidas.

THERE is no district in Greece which more frequently presents itself to notice in ancient history than the plain of Tripolitza. Placed on the frontier of Arcadia towards the Isthmus of Corinth, defended on that side by strong passes, and occupied by the two leading cities of the province, it was by these circumstances the chief cause and support of the union, independence, and tranquillity which Arcadia continued to enjoy until Athens, Thebes, and Sparta having become so powerful as to involve all Greece in their quarrels, the rivalry of Tegea and Mantinea, which may have been of salutary effect

in the earlier and better times of the confederacy, tended only to the admission of foreign influence and the ruin of all the smaller towns of Arcadia.

The plain of Tripolitzá is by far the greatest of that cluster of valleys in the center of the Peloponnesus, each of which is so closely shut in by the intersecting mountains, that no outlet is afforded to the waters but through the mountains themselves. Of these valleys, which comprehended the districts of Stymphalus, Pheneus, Alea, Asea, Eutæa, Pallantium, Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenus, and Caphyæ, those of the five cities last mentioned may be considered in a military sense to have formed one and the same plain, the Orchomenia being separated from the Mantinice only by a low narrow ridge. This great interior valley is about twenty-five English miles in length from Caphyæ northward to Mount Cresium of the Tegeatis southward, with a breadth varying from one mile to eight. In the middle of its length, and in one of the narrowest parts as to breadth, stood the city of Mantinea in the lowest part of the plain, a position which shews at once the importance of the Mantinice and why this district was so often the scene of great military operations.

There are three lines of access from the Ar-

golis into the Mantinico-Tegeatic plain, which, although they all traverse steep and lofty ridges, yet presenting less difficulty than any other paths that can be chosen, have in all ages been the roads into that great interior basin. The only other approaches to Mantinea from the Isthmus were by Orneæ and Orchomenus; neither of these was less difficult than the roads from the Argeia, and the latter was very circuitous. The three roads from Argos are thus described by Pausanias <sup>a</sup>.

“ Besides that entrance into Arcadia from the Argeia, which leads from Hysiaë, over the mountain Parthenium, into the Tegeatice, there are two roads which conduct to Mantinea, one by Prinus and the other by Climax <sup>b</sup>. Of these two the latter is the wider, and takes its name from steps which were formerly cut in the descent <sup>c</sup>. After having passed the Climax there is a place called Melangeia <sup>d</sup>, from whence water for drinking descends into the city of the Mantinenses. Beyond Melangeia, seven stades distant from the city, is the fountain of the Meliastæ, who perform the orgies of Bacchus; at the fountain there is a temple of Bacchus and

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 6, 7, 8.

<sup>b</sup> διὰ Πρίνου καλουμένης καὶ διὰ Κλίμακος.

<sup>c</sup> Prinus was probably so

called because the road led through a forest, or grove, of the holly-leaved ilex.

<sup>d</sup> Μελαγγεία.



another of Venus, surnamed Melanis. The road Prinus is narrower than the former, and leads through Artemisium, concerning which mountain I have already remarked <sup>a</sup>, that it contains a temple and statue of Diana, and the fountains of the Inachus; the water, as it passes along the road, is the boundary between the Argives and Mantinenses, but after turning away from the road it flows entirely through the Argeia, whence it is called an Argive river by Æschylus and others. Having crossed the Artemisium, a plain of the Mantinenses will receive you, which is justly called Ἀργὸν [the Inert plain], for the rain-water which falls from the mountains causes it to remain uncultivated <sup>b</sup>, and would even make it a lake, did not the water disappear in a chasm of the earth, after passing through which, it comes forth again at Deine, towards the place called Genethlium of Argolis, where fresh water rises in the sea. The Mantinenses have a mountain on the left of the inert plain, where are vestiges of the village of Nestane and of the camp of Philip, (son of Amyntas,) for they say that Philip encamped at this Nestane, and from him they name the neighbouring fountain Philippium. Beyond the ruins of Nestane there is a much venerated temple of Ceres, where the

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 25. See Chapter XX.

<sup>b</sup> Ἀργὸν εἶναι τὸ πεδίον ποιεῖ.

Mantinenses hold a yearly festival; below Nestane is the field of Mæra<sup>a</sup>, which is a part of the inert plain; from thence extends, for a distance of ten stades, the opening which leads out of the inert plain. Proceeding a little farther you will descend into another plain, where, near the road side, is the fountain called Arne. From this place the city of the Mantinenses is about two (or twelve) stades<sup>b</sup> distant."

Besides the two approaches to Mantinea from the Climax and Prinus, Pausanias describes six other roads which led *from* that city, namely, 1. the direct road to Tegea. 2. A branch to the left of it, quitting the former at the temple of Neptune, distant seven stades from the city. 3. The road to Pallantium. 4. The road through the plain of Alcimedon to Methydrium. —And two roads to Orchomenus. Concerning the road to Methydrium I have already had occasion to offer some remarks; those of Orchomenus will be a subject of future examination. As the three others concur with the Prinus and Climax in illustrating the topography of the Mantinic plain, which was so often the scene of military operations, I shall here insert the description of them from Pausanias<sup>c</sup>, al-

<sup>a</sup> χῶρος Μαίρας.

more probably the correct one.

<sup>b</sup> Both numbers occur in the MSS., but the latter is

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 10, 11, 12.

though the reference will in one or two particulars be a repetition of a part of the third Chapter of this work.

“ On the left hand of the road to Tegea ”, says the Greek traveller, “ there is a place near the walls of Mantinea for the running of horses, and not far from thence a stadium where games in honour of Antinous are celebrated. Above the stadium rises the mountain Alesium, so called, it is said, from the wandering of Rhea : upon the mountain there is a grove of Ceres, and at the extremity of the mountain the temple of Neptune Hippius, not far from the stadium of Mantinea.”

This temple of Neptune, as I have already remarked, was, according to Polybius, seven stades distant from the city<sup>a</sup>. It consisted, in the time of Pausanias, of a modern building, which had been erected by the Emperor Hadrian to inclose and protect the remains of an oaken edifice, said to have been the work of Tropho-nius and Agamedes, and which was one of the few specimens, if not the only specimen then existing in the Peloponnesus, of a temple built of that material. It was forbidden to all unprivileged persons to enter the Posidium ; and Hadrian, when he erected the new building,

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. l. 11. c. 14.—See Chapter III.

maintained its sanctity with such rigour, that the workmen employed were not allowed to touch any part of the remains of the ancient structure, nor even to see the interior of it; nor was Pausanias himself allowed to enter the temple.

“ Beyond the temple of Neptune, on the road to Tegea, there was a trophy of stone erected in honour of the victory gained [by the Mantinenses] over Agis and the Lacedæmonians, beyond which the road entered a forest of oaks called Pelagus; the boundary between the Mantinenses and Tegeatæ was a round altar in the road. On turning to the left, out of the road to Tegea, at the temple of Neptune, there occurred, at the end of five stades, the tumuli of the daughters of Pelias<sup>a</sup>, twenty stades distant from which, was the place called the Phœzi; the monument of the Phœzi was low, and surrounded with a basis<sup>b</sup>. The road then became narrow<sup>c</sup>, and there was a monument

<sup>a</sup> The daughters of Pelias were induced, by the arts of Medeia, to put their father to death at Iolcus, from whence they had fled to the Mantinice. Micon, who had represented some parts of the Argonautic story in a painting in the temple of the Dioscuri at Athens, had written under the figures of the daughters

of Pelias, the names Asteropeia and Antinoe. Pausan. Attic. c. 18. — Apollodorus makes the number of the daughters three, and gives different names. Apollod. l. 1. c. 9, 10.

<sup>b</sup> περιεχόμενον κρηπίδι.

<sup>c</sup> This remark alludes to its being the place described by Homer, by the words

said to be that of Areithous, who, from his club, was named Coryneta.”

“In the way which led from Mantinea to Pallantium, at the distance of thirty stades, the wood Pelagus was near the road. Here stood the tomb of Epaminondas, who was buried on the spot where he fell. The place to which he was carried out of the action, and from whence he witnessed the victory of his army before he died, was thenceforth called Scope.”

It may be inferred from the circumstance last mentioned, that Scope was a rising ground, a circumstance which I think identifies it with the point of the Mænalian range three miles south of Mantinea, as I have stated in the former journey. After remarking that the temple of Jupiter Charmon was one stade beyond the tomb of Epaminondas, Pausanias, in allusion to the forest which covered a part of the neighbouring plain, observes, that “the woods of Arcadia contain diverse kinds of oak, namely, the broad leaved oak, the phagus, and that of which the bark, called Phellus by the Ionians, is so light, that it serves for buoys to anchors, and for floats to the nets of fishermen.”<sup>a</sup>

Στεινωπῷ ἐν ὁδῷ, in the speech of Nestor, Il. H. 143. Areithous was here slain by Lycurgus.

<sup>a</sup> Ἀρκάδων δ' ἐν τοῖς δρυμοῖς εἰσιν αἱ δρυὲς διάφοροι· καὶ τὰς

μὲν πλατυφύλλους αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ φηγοὺς καλοῦσιν, αἱ τρίται δὲ ἀραιὸν τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ οὕτω δὴ παρέχονται κοῦφον, ὥστε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ ποιεῦνται σημαῖα ἀγκύραις καὶ δικτύοις. ταύτης τῆς δρυὸς τὸν φλοιὸν ἄλλοι

Hence it appears that the forest Pelagus contained cork trees, which are not now found in a natural state, I believe, in any part of European Greece, nor is the phagus<sup>a</sup>, so called from its edible acorn, by any means so common as the prinus and ilex.

I have already remarked, that Pausanias, in the Argolics, speaks of one road only leading from Argos to Mantinea, though he afterwards, in the Arcadics, as we have just seen, describes two roads, called Prinus and Climax. It is observable, however, that he traces these two roads only from the frontier of the Argeia to Mantinea, in like manner as, in the Argolics, he follows the single road from Argos as far as the same boundary only; it seems probable, therefore, that from Argos as far as the boundary, there was but one road to Mantinea, which, leaving Argos at the

τῶν Ἰώνων, καὶ Ἑρμησηιάνναξ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα ποιήσας, Φέλλον ὀνομάζουσιν. Paus. Arcad. c. 12. This is one of the references to Ionia, which seems to prove that country to have been the ordinary residence of Pausanias. But it is for the purpose of adverting to the word ἀραιὸν, that I have inserted the passage at length. As it cannot be doubted that Pausanias here describes the cork tree, he must be supposed to employ the word ἀραιὸς in the sense of *spongy*, and not that

of *thin*. It is curious that ἀραιὰ, or ἀρεὰ, is the modern name of the quercus ilex, or olive leaved evergreen oak, and not that of the cork tree, which it may have been in the time of Pausanias. The difference in appearance between these two trees is so slight, with the exception of the bark, that a transfer of name from the one to the other may easily have taken place in the declining ages of Greece.

<sup>a</sup> quercus esculus.



gate of Deiras, crossed the Charadrus to Œnoe, and not far from thence divided into two branches, one leading towards the sources of the Inachus, and passing not far from that summit of the Artemisian ridge upon which stood the temple of Diana which gave name to it; the other leaving the highest summits to the left, and descending upon Melangeia, a place from whence there was an aqueduct to the city of Mantinea. The sources near Pikérnes, and the situation of that village relatively to the ancient city, point it out as the site of *Melangeia*, and it is not impossible that the modern name may have been derived from those sources<sup>a</sup>. The road, therefore, from Argos to Pikérnes, which passes by the villages of Kato Bélishi, Kaparéli, and Sangá, appears to be the ancient Climax. From Pikérnes, one may either descend into the plain of *Mantineia*, or continue along the side of the mountains to Bútia and Kalpáki (*Orchomenus*).

If the position of Melangeia, and the line of the road Climax, are correctly indicated as above, it will follow, that the road over the Artemisian range by the modern Turníki, is the line of the ancient *Prinus*; we find, in fact, a confirmation of this conclusion, as well as of all the comparative topography of the Mantinice,

<sup>a</sup> ἐπὶ κρήναις.

in the circumstance, that the branch of the Mantinic plain, the opening of which is immediately opposite to the *Scope*, answers exactly to the *Argon*, or Inert Plain, as well in its position as in its marshy nature after the winter rains, for it is nearly surrounded, as Pausanias hints, by mountains, and is wider within than at the opening which unites it with the great Mantinic plain; the breadth of this opening corresponds likewise exactly with the ten stades of Pausanias. Nestane appears to have stood to the southward of the opening into the *Argon*, towards the projection of Mount Artemisium, which is opposite to the *Scope*. As the point of the same mountain, which encloses the *Argon* on the northern side, is about fifteen stades from Mantinea, it seems more probable, that the fountain Arne should have been twelve, than two, stades distant from the city, and the more so, as the temple of Neptune, which stood on the same side of the city, was seven stades distant from the walls. Moreover there is another κόλπος, or bay, of the Mantinic plain, between Mantinea and the point on the northern side of the entrance of the *Argon*, corresponding to the *other* plain noticed by Pausanias, which contained the fountain Arne. This bay terminates towards the mountain, in a narrow ascent lead-

ing up to Tzipianá, and agreeing with the narrow road which commenced at the monument of Coryneta.

In order to understand thoroughly what Pausanias relates of the course of the waters from the Inert Plain, it is to be observed, that all the great valley of Tripolitzá is nearly of an uniform level, and that many parts of it have not a sufficient slope to prevent the land from being often overflowed by the torrents from the surrounding mountains, unless trenches are made to assist the course of the waters towards those chasms in the mountains which nature has provided for their discharge. Of these *zerethra*, or *katavóthra*, I have already remarked that there are three, namely those of the Táki and of Persová in the *Tegeatice*, and the smaller one not far from the ruins of *Mantineia*. By drainage the inundations might be always confined to the immediate vicinity of the *katavóthra*, and they were probably so confined anciently, unless when the course of the waters became a subject of dispute between Tegea and Mantineia, as happened in a remarkable instance, mentioned by Thucydides<sup>a</sup>. In the present state of Greece, when art is seldom applied to remedy natural inconveniences, and when the culture of maize

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. l. 5. c. 65.

operates as an encouragement to keep a part of the land for many months in a state of inundation, there are several parts of the plain of Tripolitzá half the year under water.

Pausanias asserts that the waters of the Inert Plain were drained towards the chasms, of which the emissory was a source called Deine, rising in the sea near the Argolic shore; a remark which leaves no doubt that he meant the zere-thra of the Tegeatice, near the modern Persová. If it should be asked how it happened that, assuming the bay or branch of the *Mantinic* plain below Tzipianá to have been the Inert Plain, the drainage was not rather carried to the zere-thra of Mantinea, they being so much nearer to the Argon; the answer would be, that these were so small as to be hardly sufficient to carry off the river Ophis and the other superfluous waters of the Mantinic plain. The Mantinenses, in consequence, as we find from Thucydides, in the passage already alluded to, were in the habit of turning the inundations of the plain Argon into the Tegeatice, where the fall was greater and the zere-thra more capacious. This operation was probably regulated in a friendly manner when the two cities were at peace; but it was a fruitful cause of quarrel; and when the republics were at war, as we per-

ceive from Thucydides, it furnished a convenient mode of offence and injury.

Having made these preliminary remarks on the topography, I shall now advert to those military transactions which have rendered the Mantinice so conspicuous in ancient history. Three of the actions fought near Mantineia are among the best illustrations of Greek tactics which history has preserved, and they are particularly worthy of consideration from having been related by three historians, each of whom was living at the time of the action described, and if not personally engaged in it, was so situated, at least, as to be able to collect the most authentic information concerning it. The earliest of the three battles is described by Thucydides, the second by Xenophon, the third by Polybius. In the interval between the second and third, there were two other conflicts in the same field, which, had they been related by contemporary authors, might have deserved our attention almost as much as the three others; for the Lacedæmonians, headed by one of their kings, were engaged in them both; but the first is merely noticed by Plutarch: the second is described by Pausanias.

The battle of Mantineia, recorded by Thucydides, occurred in the fourteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, B. C. 418, when the Lace-

dæmonians, under Agis, son of Archidamus, with some Arcadian allies, were opposed to the Argives, and their auxiliaries of Mantinea and Athens<sup>a</sup>. The Argives, at the suggestion of the Mantinenses, who were at that time enemies of the Tegeatæ, had moved against Tegea, in which city, as usually happened when two Greek republics were at war, there was a faction in favour of the opponent. The Lacedæmonians, advancing to the support of the Tegeatæ, placed themselves at Orestium<sup>b</sup>, in Mænalia, the Mænalii being then in alliance with them, upon which the Argives retired, and took up a strong position on the hills, near Mantinea. "The Lacedæmonians," says Thucydides, "accompanied by such of their Arcadian confederates as were present, then entered the territory of Mantinea, and, placing themselves near the temple of Hercules, wasted the country around. The Argives and their associates, on perceiving the enemy, seized upon a place fortified by nature, and of difficult access, and formed themselves into an order of battle. The Lacedæmonians, on the other hand, had approached to within the cast of a stone or dart, when an old soldier, seeing that Agis was about to attack a

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. l. 5. c. 64.

<sup>b</sup> Otherwise called Orestasium: it lay on the right

of the road from Megalopolis to Asea. (Pausan. Arcad. c. 44.) See Chapter XVIII.



very strong position, called out to him that he was going to remedy one evil by another, thus signifying that he was attempting to make amends for his former retreat from Argos, for which he had been blamed, by an imprudent forwardness upon the present occasion. Either in consequence of this declaration, or of some sudden change in his own designs, Agis withdrew his army without engaging, and, marching into the territory of Tegea, turned the course of the water into the Mantinice, concerning which water, because it did much injury in whatever part of the country it flowed, the Mantinenses and Tegeatæ were at war. His design was to force the Argives and their confederates to fight in the plain, into which he supposed that they would descend, in order to prevent the turning of the water; and remaining that day about the water, he turned it. The Argives and their allies, surprised at the sudden departure of the enemy, were at a loss to account for it; and when they found that their adversaries were no longer in sight, while their own army remained inactive, and did not follow, they began to blame their commanders, and accused them of treachery, as well for having suffered the Lacedæmonians to depart, after having intercepted them at Argos, as for now again allowing them to retire in safety, without pursuing

them. The commanders were now much troubled. Advancing into the plain, they stationed their forces as if about to advance against the enemy, and next day disposed them so as to be in readiness for battle, if they should fall in with their adversaries. When the Lacedæmonians, returning from the water to their former position at the Heracleium, found the enemy already descended from the mountain, and in order of battle, they were struck with consternation, having so short space of time to prepare themselves for battle. They were soon arranged, however; Agis, the king, commanding all according to law. For when the king leads the army, every thing is regulated by him; he gives the orders to the polemarchs, the polemarchs to the lochagi, and the lochagi to the pentecontateres, the latter to the enomotarchæ, and they to the enomotiaë, and thus the requisite mandates are forwarded, and quickly communicated from one to another; the greater part of the Lacedæmonian army being the commanders of commanders, and the care of what is to be done, the business of many.

“On the left were the Sciritæ, who, alone of the Lacedæmonians, have the right of occupying this place. Next to them were the Brasiidani, who had served in Thrace, and the Neo-

damodeis, (or those who had recently been made freemen.) Then came the lochi (or divisions) of the Lacedæmonians; next to them the Heræenses of Arcadia; then the Mænalii; and on the right the Tegeatæ, with a few of the Lacedæmonians at the extremity. The cavalry were upon either wing. Such was the order of the Lacedæmonians. Of their adversaries, the right was occupied by the Mantinenses, because the affair took place in their territory; adjacent to them were the other auxiliaries of Arcadia; then the thousand chosen men of Argos, whom the city had long kept in exercise at the public charge; then the other Argives; next to them their allies of Cleonæ and Orneæ; and last of all, on the left, the Athenians, with their domestic cavalry. Such was the order and preparation on both sides.

“The Lacedæmonian army was the most numerous in appearance, but I am unable to state its total amount, or the number of the several people who composed it, that of the Lacedæmonians being unknown, in consequence of the secrecy of the government, and that of the others unworthy of belief, from the usual ostentation of mankind in the enumeration of their own people. The force of the Lacedæmonians, however, may be computed thus. Seven lochi fought, besides the Sciritæ, of whom there were

600. In each lochus were four pentecostyes, in each pentecostys four enomotiaë. Each enomotia consisted of four men in front, with a depth not everywhere equal, but arranged as the lochagus thought fit. In general, however, the army was drawn up eight deep, and it had 448 in front, beside the Sciritæ."

From this computation of Thucydides, it would appear, that the total amount of the Lacedæmonian hoplitæ was not much above 4000, which, when drawn up in the compact order described by the historian, would not occupy a front of more than three or four hundred yards. The light armed were probably much more numerous.

The hills upon which the Argives first placed themselves, seem to have been those immediately above Mantinea to the eastward, the part of which near the southern side of the walls of Mantinea, was, as we learn from Pausanias, called Alesium. From this height nothing could be seen which took place on the eastern side of the plain of Tripolitzá, to the southward of the projection of the Artemisian range, upon which Nestane stood, and which bounded the Inert Plain on the south. There it was, therefore, that Agis was engaged in turning the course of the water, when the Argives lost sight of him. His object was to divert the water from the plain, southward of the point of *Nestane*, into

the plain *Argon*, situated northward of the same projection. And thus Thucydides, though he neither mentions the plain *Argon* by that name, nor describes the ultimate course or natural outlet of the waters, after they had been turned into the *Tegeatice*, concurs, as far as his testimony extends, with the more particular detail of Pausanias, which, when examined on the spot, shews that the only outlet (though the course of the waters towards it might require to be assisted by art) was through the *zerethra* at the extremity of the *Corythic bay* of the *Tegeatic plain*, or, in modern words, by the *katavóthra* of *Persová*. The *Heracleium* I do not find mentioned in any other author ; but it is obvious, as well in the previous position on the hills, as after their descent into the plain, that the *Argives* and their allies were not far from the city of *Mantineia*. They were probably drawn up across the plain, in front of the city, and the *Lacedæmonians* in a parallel line to the southward of them, between the city and the opening between *Scope* and *Nestane*, which formed the boundary of the *Mantinice*.

“ After an exhortation,” continues Thucydides, “ the engagement began, the *Argives* and their confederates advancing with violence and fury, the *Lacedæmonians* slowly, and with a march regulated, as their military law enacts,



by the music of many flutes, not as a point of religion, but with the design that, marching forward evenly and by measure, their ranks might not fall into disorder, as often happens to large bodies when moving in presence of an enemy. While yet in motion, a thought occurred to Agis, suggested by the customary practice of armies when advancing to the engagement. It generally happens, that either party strives to extend his right wing, so as to outflank his adversary's left, each soldier endeavouring, in order to protect himself, to cover his body with the shield of the man upon his right, persuaded that in this compact order they are most completely covered from the enemy. The right hand man of the right wing is the first cause of this [tendency of each line to outflank the enemy's left], for while he strives to shift his uncovered side from the enemy, the same fear prompts the rest to follow him. In this manner the Sciritæ, on the Lacedæmonian left, were circumvented by the right wing of their opponents, and still more the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ, the army of the latter being the more numerous of the two. Agis, therefore, perceiving that the Mantinenses had extended themselves very far upon his left, and fearing lest that flank should be surrounded, ordered the Sciritæ and



Brasidiani to move a part of their division in such a manner as to make the left flank co-extensive with that of the Mantinenses, and sent directions at the same time to the polemarchs Hipponoidas and Aristocles to fill up the vacancy with two lochi from the right wing, thinking, that while the wing opposed to the Mantinenses would be thus reinforced, the other would still be sufficiently strong. It happened, however, [the order being given in the very concourse, and on a sudden,] that Aristocles and Hipponoidas refused to move, for which they were afterwards banished from Sparta, being supposed to have disobeyed through cowardice. The enemy having begun the attack in the mean time, and the lochi not coming to fill up the place of the Sciritæ, the consequence was, that the Lacedæmonians were unable to oppose the enemy in that part of the line, or to close the empty space. However, though totally worsted in skill, they shewed themselves by no means inferior to their adversaries in valour. When the engagement became close, the Mantinenses turned the left of the Sciritæ and Brasidiani, at the same time that, assisted by their allies of Arcadia, and the thousand select men of Argos, they entered the space left vacant by the disunited Lacedæmonians, slew many of them, and having surrounded and put them

to flight, chased them to their waggons, where some of the aged men who were in charge of the baggage were killed. Here, therefore, the Lacedæmonians were beaten; but in the other parts of the line, particularly in the centre, where stood King Agis, and about him the horsemen called the Three Hundred, the Lacedæmonians falling upon the Argive veterans, and those called the Five Lochi, and the Cleonæi, and the Orneatæ, and the Athenians, who were next to them, put them all to flight, the enemy scarcely waiting to come to blows, but giving way as soon as the Lacedæmonians attacked, and some of them even through fear of not escaping, [allowing themselves to be,] trodden under foot.

“ While the army of the Argives and their allies were giving way in this part, they were worsted also on the left, where the right of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ outflanked the Athenians, who were thus on one side surrounded, and on the other beaten; and who would have suffered more than any other part of the army, had not their cavalry been present to assist them. It happened also that Agis, at that time, finding that his left was suffering from the Mantinenses and the thousand Argives, ordered all the army to proceed to the assistance of the defeated wing. So that the Athe-

nians, and that part of the Argives which was beaten, as soon as the enemy inclined from them, easily saved themselves. The Mantinenses and their associates, and the select Argives, seeing their army overcome, and the Lacedæmonians turning against them, gave way and betook themselves to flight. Most of the Mantinenses were slain, but the greater part of the chosen Argives were saved, for neither the flight nor the disorder was long continued, it being the custom of the Lacedæmonians to fight with constancy and perseverance until they have turned the enemy, but never to pursue him long after they have forced him to retreat. Thus, or very nearly so, was fought this battle, the greatest which had occurred for a long time between Grecians and Grecians, and wherein the greatest cities were engaged. The Lacedæmonians laying together the arms of the slain enemies, immediately erected a trophy. They stripped the dead bodies of the enemy, and then gave them up under truce; their own slain they carried away and buried at Tegea. Of the Argives, Orneatæ, and Cleonæi, 700 were killed, of the Athenians and Æginetæ, 200, with both the commanders. The allies on the side of the Lacedæmonians suffered nothing worthy of mention: of the Lacedæmonians themselves it is difficult to speak with

certainly, but it is said they lost 300 men. The other king, Pleistoanax, came with a reinforcement, both of veterans and young soldiers, as far as Tegea; but having heard of the victory he returned [to Sparta]. The Lacedæmonians sent messengers to the Corinthians and the allies from beyond the isthmus, desiring them to return home; then dismissing those who were with them, they marched to Sparta, and celebrated the festival called Carneia, having by this battle removed the disgrace which they had incurred in the eyes of all Greece, by their defeat at the island [Sphacteria]. Their want of counsel and energy on other occasions was counterbalanced by this event, their miscarriage being imputed to fortune, and their minds considered such as they had ever been."

Thirty-three years after this transaction<sup>a</sup>, in the second year after the peace of Antalcidas, when the Lacedæmonians were not less formidable than they had been at the end of the Peloponnesian war, the Spartan government thought the moment favourable for removing that impediment to the extension of its power in Arcadia which Mantinea had ever presented, and easily found a pretext to justify the bold measure which they adopted, of ordering the Mantinenses to

<sup>a</sup> B. C. 385.

destroy the walls of their city<sup>a</sup>. Upon their refusal, an army marched against them, commanded by the king, Agesipolis, son of Pausanias. He first formed an intrenchment<sup>b</sup> round the city, employing one half of the army to protect the other half while at work; and then, under the protection of the intrenchment, he built a wall of circumvallation. Having afterwards learnt that the blockaded enemy was well supplied with provisions, he resorted to the following expedient: throwing up an embankment across a river which flowed through the city, he caused an inundation round the walls, which at length rose so high as first to cover the foundations, and then to dissolve the lower part of the brickwork, so that the wall began to decline from the perpendicular. The Mantinenses endeavoured by wooden supports to prevent it from falling; but finding the water too powerful for them, and fearing lest the ruin of their defences on all sides should expose the city to be taken by assault, they submitted to the terms of the Lacedæmonians, which were, that they should evacuate the city, and dwell in four small towns, as in ancient times. Agesipolis, at the entreaty of his father, allowed sixty leading men of Mantinea, who favoured the Argives,

<sup>a</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5. c. 2.<sup>b</sup> τάφρον.



to retire in safety. These defiled through the armed Lacedæmonians, whose excellent discipline not only made them abstain from insulting the exiles, but was the means of saving them from the vengeance of their own fellow-citizens of the oligarchical faction.

There can hardly be a question that the words of Xenophon cited below have the meaning which I have just assigned to them, and, consequently, that the foundations of the walls were made of stone, and the superstructure of unburnt brick<sup>a</sup>. The latter fact is directly stated by Pausanias<sup>b</sup>, and though he does not speak of the foundations of stone, it is evident that such a substruction was indispensably necessary in this marshy level.

Xenophon terminates his account of the stratagem of Agesipolis by the reflection, that mankind learnt one lesson of wisdom from it; namely, not to conduct a river through a city<sup>c</sup>. It would seem, therefore, that the stream had been artificially turned into that direction. He remarks

<sup>a</sup> Ἐμφραχθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀπορροίας, ἤρετο τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τὲ τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει θεμελίων. Βρεχομένων δὲ τῶν κύττω πλίνθων, καὶ προσδιδουσῶν τὰς ἄνω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρήγνυτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκλίνετο.—Xenoph. Hellen. 1. 5. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> εἶλεν τὴν πόλιν οὐ πολιορκίᾳ κατὰ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν, τὸν δὲ Ὀφιν ποταμὸν ἀποστρέψας σφισιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ὥμῃς ὠκοδομημένον τῆς πλίνθου.—Pausan. Arcad. c. 8.

<sup>c</sup> σοφωτέρων γενομένων ταύτη γε τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῷ μὴ διὰ τευχῶν ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι.—Xenoph. ibid.



also, that the river was of considerable size <sup>a</sup>, a description quite unsuited to the brooks which now embrace the circuit of the ancient walls, and leading to the inference that the stream from Tzipianá, which now passes to the south-westward of the ruins, is the river intended by Xenophon, and is consequently the Ophis of Pausanias. If this stream was diverted from its course for the purpose of passing through the city, it will follow almost of necessity that above the city it was then united with the two rivulets which now encircle the walls, flowing in their natural direction. In the time of Agesipolis, therefore, all the running water of the Mantinic plain passed in one body through the walls, which illustrates the observation of Xenophon as to the size of the river, and will assist also in accounting for the successful effect of the operation of Agesipolis.

The dispersion of the Mantinenses had lasted more than fourteen years, when their oppressors having been defeated at Leuctra<sup>b</sup>, one of the consequences of it was, the re-establishment of Mantinenses in their city, and the rebuilding of its walls<sup>c</sup>. For carrying on this operation, the Eleians sent assistance in money, and the Arcadians in men. I have already remark-

<sup>a</sup> μάλ' ὅντα εὐμεγέθη.

<sup>b</sup> July, B. c. 371.

<sup>c</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6. c.

5.

ed<sup>a</sup>, that the existing remains are probably for the most part the work of that period. I say for the most part, because there are some places where the polygonal work appears to have been a part of the more ancient substruction, while the remainder, being of that more regular kind which was employed in the fortifications of Messene, has every indication of having been a production of the same period of time. The existing ruins, moreover, are sufficiently preserved to shew that no considerable stream could have passed through their inclosure. The Mantinenses, therefore, when their walls were rebuilt, seem really to have profited by the severe lesson of Agesipolis, and to have allowed the Ophis to pursue the natural course which it now follows through the plain, while the two other rivulets were made to serve the useful purpose of a wet ditch to the new fortification.

The present height of the substruction of stone seems to me to afford a third reason for the same opinion as to its date; for it is hardly possible for such an operation as that of Agesipolis to have been successful with foundations so high as those which are still preserved. We may conclude, therefore, that the Mantinenses

<sup>a</sup> See Chapter III.

derived more than one useful lesson from their misfortune : and that they were careful not only to exclude the river from their city, but also to make the substruction of their walls of such a height as could not possibly be submerged by means of such streams as those which water the Mantinice.

While the new fortification was in progress, the work was disturbed by the invasion of the Lacedæmonians under Agesilaus, to which I have already adverted in speaking of Eutæa. Agesilaus, on entering the Mantinice, placed his army under the mountains to the westward of Mantinea. On the following day he encamped at a distance of only twenty stades from the city. Meanwhile, the troops of the Arcadic league, which had collected at Asea, moved to Tegea, and thence towards Mantinea. This body Agesilaus was fearful of opposing, lest at the same time the Mantinenses should issue from the town, and attack him in the flank and rear ; he allowed them, therefore, to effect a junction. Next morning he was joined by the cavalry of Phlius, by the peltastæ of Orchomenus, and by some other Arcadians, who had not joined the Arcadic league ; these troops marching in the night from Orchomenus, had passed unperceived under the walls of Mantinea. Agesilaus, thus reinforced, led forward

his forces, but the evening coming on, he encamped in a valley surrounded by mountains, not far from Mantinea, but quite hidden from it<sup>a</sup>.

On the ensuing morning, finding that the Mantinenses were gathering on the hills in his rear, he was obliged to retire in a very compact order until he arrived in the plain, where he drew forth his line with a depth of nine or ten shields. Here, for the honour of Sparta, he thought it necessary to remain three days, although it was in the middle of winter. He then began that rapid retreat to Eutæa which has already been described, being probably aware of the danger to which he would be exposed by remaining in Arcadia; for the Mantinenses had been joined by the Eleians and Argives as well as by the Arcadians, and waited only for the arrival of the Bœotians and their allies, commanded by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, to advance against him. In fact, it was not long before this army arrived at Mantinea, when Epaminondas was persuaded by the Peloponnesians there assembled to make that famous invasion of Laconia which silenced for ever the proud Spartan saying, “that their women had

<sup>a</sup> ἑσπέρας δ' ἐπιγινομένης ἔλαθε  
στρατοπέδευσάμενος εἰς τὸν ὀπισ-  
θεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντινικῆς, μάλα

σύνεγγυς καὶ κύκλῳ ὄρη ἔχοντα.  
—Xenoph. Hellen. 1. 6. c. 5.

never beheld the smoke of an enemy's fire," and which reduced the Lacedæmonians nearly to a level with the other Greeks. In describing these transactions, Xenophon mentions a place called Elymia, on the confines of the Mantinice and Orchomenia, the name of which occurs in no other author. A few days before Agesilaus entered the territory of the Mantinenses, the latter had failed in an attempt upon Orchomenus. Xenophon adds, that with some difficulty they had made good their retreat to Elymia, where they found themselves so hard pressed as to be obliged to turn and face their pursuers, whose leader, Polytropus, they killed. Elymia, therefore, seems to have been near the frontier of the two districts. As to the "valley surrounded with mountains, near Mantinea, but quite hidden from it," in which Agesilaus encamped one evening, the description seems to answer better to the smaller and more northern branch of the Mantinic plain between Mantinea and the Argon, than to the latter branch of the same plain. The northern bay corresponds better by its proximity to Mantinea; by Mount Alesium it was equally hidden from the city, while its small dimensions and the nearness of the incumbent mountains rendered it a more hazardous position to an army under the circumstances of that of Agesilaus.



The new walls of Mantinea could not have been completed more than six years when the celebrated battle was fought, in the summer of the year B. C. 362, in which Epaminondas closed his career of glory, and of which the contemporary historian has left the clear and interesting description which terminates his Hellenic history<sup>a</sup>. The people of Mantinea, and some other Arcadians, forgetful of the benefits received from Epaminondas, and jealous of his interference in their affairs, had called in the assistance of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians; upon which the Thebans, perceiving that their authority in the Peloponnesus could only be supported by arms, sent Epaminondas into the peninsula at the head of an army of Bœotians, Eubœans, and Thessalians, which, when reinforced by the Tegeatæ and some other Peloponnesians, amounted, according to Diodorus, to 30,000 foot and 3,000 horse<sup>b</sup>. While the Mantinenses and their friends of Eleia, Achaia, and Arcadia, were waiting at Mantinea for the promised succours from Athens and Sparta, Epaminondas remained within the walls of Tegea with the hope of being able to intercept the Lacedæmonians in their march towards Mantinea. As soon as he heard that Agesilaus<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 7. c. ult.

<sup>c</sup> Diodorus (l. 15. c. 82.) says Agis.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. l. 15. c. 84.



had moved out of Sparta, and had advanced as far as Pellana, on the upper Eurotas, he made a sudden march to Sparta, and would have taken the city but for the timely return of Agesilaus and the able conduct of the other king, Archidamus<sup>a</sup>, who, with only one hundred men, crossed the Eurotas, boldly attacked the Thebans on the heights of Menelaïum, and, although with severe loss, completely arrested their operations. Failing in this object, Epaminondas returned to Tegea, and tried the success of another surprise in the opposite direction by sending forward his cavalry to Mantinea, where he supposed, (as it was the time of harvest,) that all the cattle and men of Mantinea would be found in the fields. Here, however, he was also foiled by a body of Athenian cavalry<sup>b</sup>, who, although just arrived and employed in quartering themselves in the town, immediately marched out to meet the enemy<sup>c</sup>. Thus disappointed in

<sup>a</sup> Diodorus says Agesilaus. Both these names are, undoubtedly, erroneous.

<sup>b</sup> Diodorus says they were 6,000 in number, and under the command of Hegelochus.

<sup>c</sup> This is the account of Xenophon; but, according to Polybius, the Athenians had not entered the town, but made their appearance on the

hills above it, in their way from the Isthmus, at the instant when Epaminondas arrived at the temple of Neptune. Plutarch relates the occurrence in the same manner, and adds, that the Athenians, although fatigued with their march and astonished at the unexpected encounter, immediately engaged and

both his attempts to prevent the junction of the allies, and finding the time of his command nearly expired, he thought it necessary, for the sake of his reputation, to come to a general action. The enemy's army, according to Diodorus, was still greatly inferior to his own, consisting only of about 23,000 Lacedæmonians, Athenians, Eleians, and others, of whom 2,000 were cavalry. Xenophon then continues his narrative in the following terms: "Epaminondas having formed his army in order of battle, moved forward, not by the shortest route towards the enemy, but towards the western mountains of Tegea<sup>a</sup>, so as to make his opponents suppose, that he had no intention of fighting that day. When he arrived at the mountain he drew out his phalanx in order of battle, and made the men lodge their arms under the heights<sup>b</sup>, as if he designed to remain stationary in that position. By these proceedings the minds of his adversaries became relaxed in regard to their readiness for engaging, and even their ranks were disordered; as soon, therefore, as he had brought some lochi from the wings to the front, so as to strengthen the

repulsed Epaminondas from under the walls of Mantinea. The same circumstances of the event were represented in a picture by Euphranor.—Polyb. l. 9. c. 8. — Plutarch.

de Glor. Athen.

<sup>a</sup> τὴν μὲν συντομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη τῆς Τεγέας καὶ ἀντιπέραν ἤγειτο.

<sup>b</sup> ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα.

wedge-shaped part of the line, where he himself was situated <sup>a</sup>, he ordered the army to resume their arms, and led them forward. The enemy, seeing them thus unexpectedly advance, were thrown into confusion: some ran into their ranks, others put their men into order; some bridled their horses, others put on their breast-plates; all had more the appearance of being about to suffer than to act. Epaminondas, meanwhile, led forward his army like a ship of war bearing down to the attack, confident that, if he could penetrate in any one part of the hostile force, he should easily defeat the remainder; for he had so disposed his forces as to make the attack with his best troops, leaving the weakest at a distance, conscious that these, if defeated, would discourage those around him and give strength to the adversaries. The enemy's horse were drawn up like a battalion of hoplitæ, and had no infantry to act with them <sup>b</sup>; whereas Epaminondas had formed his cavalry into a strong wedge, and had stationed infantry with them, thinking, that as soon as the horse had forced a way through the enemy, their whole army would be beaten; for it is very rare to find any willing to stand when some of their own body are seen to fly. To prevent the Athenians on

<sup>a</sup> τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον.

<sup>b</sup> ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων.

the left wing from assisting those near them, Epaminondas stationed a body of horse and heavy-armed, upon certain high grounds<sup>a</sup>, who threatened from thence the rear of the Athenians. Thus had he made his dispositions for attack: nor was he deceived in his hopes; for having been successful in the point to which his efforts were directed, he turned the whole army to flight. But when he fell there was none left to make a proper use of the victory; for although the enemy's phalanx was in flight, the Theban hoplitæ neither killed any of them nor moved forward from the place where the attack had been made; nor when the enemy's horse was also in flight did the cavalry of Epaminondas pursue or slay any either of the hostile cavalry or of the heavy-armed, but, as if themselves had been beaten, they retired fearfully through the routed enemies. The peltastæ and other infantry who had accompanied the cavalry, advanced, in the full confidence of victory, to the left wing of the enemy, where the greater part of them were slain by the Athenians. Thus terminated an action," adds the historian, "the consequences of which were contrary to the general expectation. For it was thought, that when all Greece was assembled on one side or the other,

<sup>a</sup> γηλόφων τινῶν.

the event of a battle would be decisive, and that the conquered would remain subject to the conquerors ; whereas the Deity<sup>a</sup> so ordered it, that both the armies erected a trophy without hindrance from the adversary, each as if it had been victorious, giving up the enemy's dead under truce, while each received its own as if it had been defeated."<sup>b</sup>

The position of Epaminondas after having failed in the first affair with the Athenian cavalry, appears to have been in the plain to the southward of Mantinea, with his right towards Mount Artemisium. His next movement was into the Tegeatis, towards the foot of Mount *Mænalus*, southward of the *Scope*, that is to say, towards Tripolitzá ; from thence he turned along the foot of those mountains northward, until his army was posted along the hills from the *Scope* to the plain of *Alcimedon*, which was their position previously to the attack. The hill of *Nestane*, or advanced root of Mount *Artemisium*, which bounds the *Inert Plain* on the south, was, perhaps, the rising ground on which he

<sup>a</sup> ὁ Θεός.

<sup>b</sup> Although the victory was uncertain, and no such consequences followed from the battle as had been expected, the principal object of the Thebans was attained. Sparta

remained in a state of humiliation ; Arcadia and Messenia independent ; and the Peninsula had the happiness for the next fifty years to contribute very little to history.



stationed a body of cavalry and hoplitæ to keep the Athenians in check.

The honour of having killed Epaminondas was given by the Athenians and Thebans to Gryllus, son of Xenophon, but by the Lacedæmonians to Machæriion, concerning whose origin there was a dispute between them and the Mantineenses, each claiming him as a citizen. Pausanias, who mentions these circumstances, relates also, that Epaminondas had been warned by the oracle of Delphi, to avoid the *Πέλαγος*, which he naturally interpreted to mean the sea. He was buried and a monument erected to him in the place where he received his mortal wound, which was a little to the left of the road to Pallantium, at a distance of thirty stades from Mantinea. He was carried out of the battle to the adjacent rising ground, and having there witnessed the victory of his army, he withdrew his hand from the wound and expired<sup>a</sup>. The height was thenceforth called Scope.

During the fifty-six years which intervened between the victories of Agis and Epaminondas in the same field, the Greeks seem to have made considerable advances in military discipline and strategy. Both actions were gained by the defeat of a part of the enemy's centre, but Agis

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 11.



had almost lost the day by his want of plan, by allowing the enemy to penetrate his line, and defeat one of his wings, and by the want of discipline indicated by the conduct of the two polemarchs, and by the exclamation of the old Spartan soldier. Under Epaminondas, on the contrary, there appears to have been both in the previous movements of the Thebans and in their conduct on the day of battle, that perfect order in the troops without which the wisdom of the commander is useless. Epaminondas left no time for the armies to attempt to out-flank each other in the manner described by Thucydides in the first battle of Mantinea; but after having secured every advantage which prudence could suggest, he rendered victory certain by that bold manœuvre, which has so often been successful both by sea and land, of directing all his efforts upon one point of the enemy's line. He had, indeed, great advantages in the superiority of his numbers and the terror of his name, which carried an authority and created an union in his army very different from the former alliance of the Athenians, Argives, and Mantinenses, as discordant in principle as it was ill-cemented by the regulation, that the leader of the troops in whose territory the action was fought should have the chief command. He must, according to this

rule, have been a man of Mantinea, but his name is not even recorded in history.

Between the death of Epaminondas and the battle of Mantinea, described by Polybius, there was an interval of one hundred and fifty-six years, during which two actions are mentioned as having been fought near the same place. Demetrius Poliorcetes, soon after his conquest of Athens, turned his arms against Sparta, defeated the King Archidamus at Mantinea, and followed him into the Laconice, where, having gained a second victory, he had every prospect of crowning it by the capture of Sparta, when he was called away by sudden intelligence of the losses which his adherents in Cyprus and Asia had sustained from Lysimachus and Ptolemy<sup>a</sup>. This happened in the year B. C. 296.

Another action at Mantinea is described by Pausanias<sup>b</sup>. The contending parties were the Achaian league and the Lacedæmonians. The Mantinenses, according to the Grecian traveller, occupied the right wing of the allies, and were composed of men of every age, under the command of Podares, the great grandson of another Podares who fought against Epaminondas. The left wing of the army was composed of the

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. in Demet.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 10.

other Arcadians. Each city had its own leader; the Megalopolitæ had two, Lydiades and Leocydes. In the centre stood Aratus, who was commander of the Sicyonii and Achaïans. The Lacedæmonians under Agis, who was also in the centre of his line, extended their phalanx, that they might equal the front of the enemy. Aratus, having previously made the Arcadians acquainted with his design, retreated with his forces, as if he could not sustain the attack of the Spartans, but he retreated in such a manner that his army formed itself into the shape of a half moon. The Lacedæmonians pressed forward on the enemy's centre, until their wings suddenly found themselves attacked in the rear. Thus surrounded on all sides, great numbers of them were slain, and among them (according to Pausanias) their king, Agis, son of Eudamidas.

The Mantinenses pointed out to Pausanias, in their plain between the wood Pelagus and the temple of Neptune, a trophy of stone erected by them in memory of this action, the exact scene of which is thus known, the temple of Neptune being ascertained, from Polybius and Pausanias, to have been on the road to Tegea, seven stades from the city. It seems, therefore, that the meeting occurred in the same field as the first battle of Mantinea; that the Mantinenses and their allies were arranged across the

plain immediately in front of the city; and that their opponents were parallel to them, with the wood Pelagus in their rear. It is remarkable that Plutarch has not spoken of this action in his life of Aratus, and that in his life of Agis he virtually contradicts one of the principal incidents mentioned by Pausanias, by asserting that Agis was killed in a popular commotion at Sparta, which the biographer has particularly described. In fact, although Pausanias twice <sup>a</sup> makes the same assertion as to the death of Agis, there can be little doubt that he was mistaken. More than four centuries had intervened when he visited Mantinea, and it is very possible that the Mantinenses had learnt in that period to deceive both themselves and others, as to a circumstance tending greatly to enhance the glory of which they were partakers on this occasion. That the action, however, really took place, notwithstanding the silence of Plutarch, is strongly confirmed by the trophy which Pausanias saw. The battle was probably fought soon after the liberation of Corinth, by Aratus, in the year B. C. 243, Agis being then opposed to him; whereas, before his death, which happened about 240 B. C., Agis became allied with Aratus against the Ætolians <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 10. 27.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch. in Agid.

In the celebrated action recorded by Polybius <sup>a</sup>, which was fought in the year B. C. 206, and which was one of the last examples of the military skill and tactics of Greece, Philopœmen, at the head of the forces of the Achaian league, was opposed to Machanidas and the Lacedæmonians. One of the principal officers under Philopœmen was Polybius, of Megalopolis, who was probably an uncle of the historian. The Achaians were quartered in the city of Mantinea. “Machanidas was approaching from Tegea with the Spartan phalanx, which was flanked on either side by foreign mercenaries advancing on a parallel line, and was followed by a great store of catapeltic machines in waggons. Philopœmen, upon receiving the intelligence, moved out of Mantinea. The light-armed, the thoracitæ, the Illyrians, and the other foreigners, took the road to the temple of Neptune. The phalanx marched out of the next gate to the westward, and the cavalry of Mantinea by the adjoining gate in the same direction. The light-armed took possession of a lofty hill near the city, [the Mount Alesium of Pausanias,] which commanded the road called Xenis, and the temple of Neptune. To the south of these were posted the thoracitæ, and then, in a line with

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. l. 11. c. 11. *et seq.*



them, the Illyrians and the phalanx, the latter being separated into divisions <sup>a</sup> with spaces between them, and protected in front by a ditch, which crossed the plain from the temple of Neptune, and terminated in the hills which separated the Mantinice from the district of the Elisphasii." Possibly this word ought to be Helissonii, for the name Elisphasii occurs nowhere else in ancient history, whereas the district of Helisson was separated only from the Mantinice by the range of Mount Mænalus, the roots of which bounded the Mantinic plain exactly in the position indicated by the historian. The ditch may have been intended to drain the plain around the city, and to draw off the waters towards the *katavóthra* at the foot of those hills. The ditch had one bridge over it, was dry, and neither deep nor strengthened by any fence, yet, being unknown to the Lacedæmonians, it was the ultimate cause of their defeat. The Achaian cavalry was posted on the foot of the hills on the right of the line, which thus occupied the entire breadth of the plain in front of Mantineia.

Machanidas advanced with his phalanx in column, as if he intended an attack upon the adversary's right, but when he drew near, he suddenly deployed to the right, and made his

<sup>a</sup> τέλη.



front equal to that of the Achaïans. He then advanced his catapeltæ in front of his line. Philopœmen, as soon as he perceived that it was the enemy's intention, by throwing projectiles against the ranks of the phalangitæ, to wound some of the men and create confusion in the whole body, did not give him time to effect his purpose, but, ordering the Tarentines to advance, began the engagement in the level ground near the temple of Neptune, which was well adapted to the operations of cavalry; Machanidas was in consequence obliged to do the same, and to move forward his Tarentines<sup>a</sup>. The contest was at first well supported by these troops only; but the light-armed soon joining in the action, all the foreigners on both sides soon became engaged. The event was for some time doubtful, but at length the superior numbers and discipline of the mercenaries of Machanidas, a kind of troops, observes Polybius, always better under a tyrant than under a republic<sup>b</sup>, completely prevailed, and not only

<sup>a</sup> In an action between Philopœmen and Nabis, fifteen years afterwards, we find, in like manner, that there were Tarentines on both sides. They were a class of light cavalry, derived originally from Tarentum, but at that

time formed of various nations. Livy, following Polybius, describes them as "*quos Tarentinos vocabant equites, binos secum trahentes equos.*" Liv. l. 35. c. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Polybius pursues this reflection, and arrives at the

the mercenaries of the Achaians, but the Illyrians and thoracitæ who supported them in the rear, and who were headed by Philopœmen himself, were broken, and pursued quite to the city, which was seven stades distant. Machanidas having imprudently joined his own mercenaries in pursuit of the fugitives, Philopœmen lost not a moment in taking advantage of his error; moving the nearest divisions of the phalangitæ, with the utmost expedition, into the space left vacant by the retreating mercenaries, he thus cut off the pursuers from their own army, and outflanked the adversaries' wing. At the same time he ordered Polybius to collect as many of the scattered Illyrians, thoracitæ, and mercenaries, as he could, and to wait for the return of Machanidas in the rear of the left of the phalangitæ. Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians, confident in the success of their light-armed, and without waiting for orders, lowered their sarissæ, and rushed forward against their opponents: when they had come to the edge of the ditch, there was no longer any possibility of a retreat, for they were already within arm's length of the enemy; despising, therefore, the ditch, as being neither steep nor having any

conclusion, that despotic monarchs generally owe their safety to foreign mercenaries:

ἡ τῶν μονάρχων ἀσφάλεια τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῇ τῶν ξένων εὐνοίᾳ κεῖται καὶ δυνάμει.

water in it or prickly bushes, they rashly rushed forward to pass it. Philopœmen, seeing that the favourable moment which he had expected had arrived, immediately directed the phalangitæ to lower their sarissæ and attack in order; which the Achæans obeyed with so much unanimity, and such a terrible shout, that the Lacedæmonians, whose ranks had been thrown into disorder in descending into the ditch, were so much terrified at the position of the enemy above them, that a part turned their backs and fled: while the greater part were killed in the ditch, some by the Achaians, and some by their own people. All which happened, continues Polybius, not by accident, but in consequence of the foresight of the commander, who had placed his troops behind the ditch, not with a view to avoid the fight as some supposed, but because, with this ditch in front, Machanidas must either attack him to a disadvantage, or return ingloriously without engaging, either of which, in the actual circumstances, must be greatly advantageous to the Achaians. The Lacedæmonian phalanx being defeated, Philopœmen next thought of completing the victory by preventing the escape of Machanidas, who, as soon as he discovered that his phalanx was routed, resolved to force his

way through the enemy with the foreign troops who accompanied him. These, however, as they approached the bridge and found the Achæians ready in great force to oppose them, gradually fell off from the tyrant, and left him with only two companions riding along the side of the trench, for the purpose of finding a convenient place to pass it. Conspicuous by his purple robes and splendid horse furniture, he was easily discerned by Philopœmen, who, taking two men with him, followed the Spartans along the opposite side of the trench, and killed Machanidas with his own hand, as he attempted to cross it. Simias, one of the companions of Philopœmen, was equally successful against one of the attendants of Machanidas; the third escaped; Simias then cut off the head of Machanidas, and hastened to shew it to the Achæians, who were pursuing the Lacedæmonians. Its sight inspired them with increased alacrity, and was in great measure the cause, in the opinion of Polybius, of their immediate success in taking Tegea, and in advancing the very next day, without any opposition, to the Eurotas. “And thus the Achæians”, he adds, “after having long been unable to expel the enemy from their country, found themselves all at once laying waste the Laconice; having,

with the loss of a small number only of their own troops, slain 4000 Lacedæmonians, and taken prisoners a still greater number, together with all the baggage and warlike machinery of the army.”

## CHAPTER XXV.

### ARCADIA.

From Tripolitzá to Kalpáki.—Ancient roads from MANTINEIA to ORCHOMENUS.—ORCHOMENUS.—Ancient roads from thence to CAPHYÆ, PHENEUS, and STYMPHALUS.—From Kalpáki to Kandíli.—Mount Lykórema.—Kastaniá. — Foniá. — STYMPHALUS. — CAPHYÆ. — Battle of CAPHYÆ.

MARCH 31.—At 10.55 I leave Tripolitzá by the Anápli gate. Here I find by the road side, where stands the permanent gallows, a high stake with the body of a man impaled upon it. He suffered three or four days ago, for having shot his wife in a fit of jealousy; he lived twenty hours after being impaled. It is believed, that after a certain time, a draught of water has the effect of putting the culprit out of his misery, and the coup-de-grâce is said to be generally given in this manner. I take the Kalávryta road, and, at 11.45, arrive at the *Scope*, or low ridge of rocks, which, advancing into the plain from a projecting part of the *Mænalium*, formed a natural division between the districts of *Tegea* and *Mantineia*. At 12.14 we are opposite the middle of the *Inert Plain*. The con-



vent and village of Tzipianá are opposite to us, just under the highest summit of Mount *Artemisium*. At 12.43 the centre of the ruins of *Mantineia* is two-thirds of a mile on the right: 12.55 Kapsá is a mile and three quarters on the left, in the branch of the plain leading to Levídhi. This branch, the Alcimedon of Pausanias, presents a gradual and gentle rise to the very foot of the steep rocks of the *Mænanian* range, just between two of the great summits, between which passes the road to Róino, Alonístena, Daviá, &c. The summit of the hill of Gurtzúli is, at the same time, a mile on our right.

A mile, or something less, beyond the hill of Gurtzúli, in the direction of the Khan of Beláli, another insulated height, much smaller and lower, rises from the plain. At 1.28, Simiádhēs<sup>a</sup> is a mile and a half on the left, in a situation similar to that of Kapsá, in a branch of the plain ascending by a gentle slope to join the elevated valley, along which we came from Levídhi on the 4th of March, and from its southern end descended upon Kapsá. 1.45 arrive at the Khan of Beláli, situated at the extremity of the plain of *Mantineia*, at the foot of the heights which separate it from that of

<sup>a</sup> Σημιάδες.

*Orchomenus*. Kakúri is a small village on the foot of Mount Armeniá<sup>a</sup>; a mile and a half on the right a road passes through it from Pí-kérni to Bútia<sup>b</sup>, and so into the plain of *Orchomenus*.

This may have been one of the roads from Mantinea to Orchomenus, mentioned by Pausanias, and that which we pass, the other. He thus describes the two routes<sup>c</sup>: “ There are two roads from Mantinea to Orchomenus. In one is the place called the Stadium of Ladas, because Ladas is said to have there exercised himself in running. Close to it is a temple of Diana, and on the right of the road a lofty mound of earth, said to be the tomb of Penelope. Adjacent to this monument there is a small plain containing a hill, upon which are some ruins of the ancient Mantinea. The place is still called Ptolis. At a small distance farther to the north, occurs the fountain Alalcomenia, and, at a distance of thirty stades from Mantinea, the ruins of a town<sup>d</sup>, named Mæra. The other road [from Mantinea] to Orchomenus, passes by the mountain Anchisia, at the foot of which is the sepulchre of Anchises, father of Æneias, who is said to have died here; near it are ruins of a temple of Venus. The

<sup>a</sup> Ἀρμενιάς.<sup>b</sup> Μπούτια.<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 12.<sup>d</sup> κάμνη.

boundaries of the Mantinice are in the mountain Anchisia. On proceeding from thence, there is a temple of Diana Hymnia at the foot of the mountain, the administration of which is in the hands of the Mantinenses. It stands to the left of the road, within the borders of the Orchomenii.”

As the hill of Gurtzúli lies exactly in the direction of *Orchomenus* from *Mantineia*, it may be presumed that one of the two roads led on the eastern side of that hill, and the other on the western. The former must have passed near the foot of Mount Armeniá, from which branches the low ridge forming the natural separation between the *Mantinice* and *Orchomenia*. Mount Armeniá, therefore, corresponds perfectly with *Anchisia*; and Khan Beláli being just an hour’s distance, equivalent to thirty stades, from *Mantineia*, corresponds not less accurately with the site of *Mæra*; the lower insulated hill to the northward of that of Gurtzúli, I take to be the position of *Ptolis*, or old *Mantineia*.

I have before remarked <sup>a</sup>, that there were ten gates in the walls of *Mantineia*. The following was probably the direction of the roads leading from them; the principal places to which they led may, perhaps, have given name

<sup>a</sup> See Chapter III.

to the gates. It may be presumed that the road to Argos, called Prinus, proceeded from the eastern gate, or that standing very near the junction of the two brooks, which descending from the mountains to the eastward, unite and form the wet ditch of the fortification. The next road, southward, seems to have been that which led to Tegea through the forest of various kinds of oak, called Pelagus; beyond the point of Nestane, it had probably a branch to Hysiaë by Mount Parthenium. The 3d led to Pallantium. The 4th to Mænalus. The 5th to Helisson. The 6th to Methydrium. The 7th to Nasi and the Ladon, being the road to Cleitor, Psophis, &c. The 8th to Orchomenus by Mæra. The 9th to Orchomenus by Anchisia. The 10th to Argos by the road Climax, probably with a branch to the left from Melangeia to Orneæ and Phlius.

At 2.35 we quit the Khan of Beláli, and ascend the hills behind it. The summit commands a fine view of the great plain of Tripolitzá, with the country beyond it as far as Dhulianá inclusive. Mount Armeniá, with which this low ridge is connected eastward, is a high rocky peak rising from the north-western corner of the *Mantinic* plain, and blending itself with the northern end of *Artemisium*. Westward, the ridge of Beláli is separated only from the mountain behind Levídhi by the narrow valley

which I passed through on March the 4th. At 3, descend into the plain of *Orchomenus*. Here a small stream runs in a direction contrary to that we pursue, and cannot therefore be a tributary of the lake of *Orchomenus*; it descends probably into a *katavóthra*, and flows to the *Helisson*. Two large roots of Mount *Armeniá* slope to the westward, and inclose two branches of the *Orchomenian* plain; in the second of these two κόλποι, or bays, at 3.20, we have *Bútia* one mile on the right, at the same time that *Levídhi* is two miles on the left. Beyond the vale of *Bútia*, we follow the foot of a rocky precipitous mountain; and at 3.40, having arrived opposite to the village of *Kalpáki*, which is half a mile distant on the left, cross a canal apparently of ancient date: it conducts the waters of the plain we have passed into a narrow ravine between the hill of *Kalpáki* and the precipices above mentioned; the stream descends through the ravine into the lake, which occupies a large part of the lower *Orchomenian* plain. Having crossed the canal, we ride up to *Kalpáki*, which stands on the side of the hill rising from the left bank of the torrent.

All that Pausanias says of *Orchomenus*<sup>a</sup> is, that “The old city was on the summit of the mountain, where still remained some ruins of

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 13.



the Agora, as well as vestiges of the town walls; below which stood the inhabited town of his time. The most remarkable objects in it were a source of water, and temples of Neptune and Venus, with statues of stone. In the suburb <sup>a</sup> there was a wooden statue of Diana, inclosed in a great cedar tree, and hence called Cedreatis. Below the town were several heaps of stones said to have been erected to some persons slain in battle, whose history was not recorded. Opposite to the city was the mountain Trachy, between which and the city the rain waters flowed through a glen <sup>b</sup> into another Orchomenian plain <sup>c</sup>, which was extensive, but was, for the most part, occupied by a lake.”

In approaching the site of Orchomenus, I observed, to our left, the tumuli which are correctly described by Pausanias, as being chiefly composed of a collection of stones. The precipitous hill, which rises from the right bank of the charadra, or torrent, answers exactly to the name of Trachy.

Just above Kalpáki, on a small level on the side of the mountain, I find several pieces of white marble columns, the remains of a temple which stood here. One of them has the plinth, capital, and the upper part of the flutings

<sup>a</sup> πρὸς τῇ πόλει.

<sup>b</sup> διὰ χαράδρας κοίτης.

<sup>c</sup> ἄλλο Ὀρχομένιον πεδῖον.



of the shaft, all in one stone ; the diameter of the column is two feet one inch. It is Doric, but of an unusual profile, the upper extremity of the capital meeting the plinth nearly in a right angle, thus: In



the same place there is a piece of a smaller column, one foot seven inches in diameter, with the elegant acute, or flattened capital of the more ancient Doric. I find also two



shafts, each formed of a single stone, and having flutings of three inches and two fifths at the bottom of the shaft, which is very tapering, like that in the mosk at Tripolitzá. The latter remains are at a ruined church below the village, between the canal and a copious fountain, which is evidently that described by Pausanias ; the remains of the two temples seem to be those of Neptune and Venus. The summit of the hill, which is spacious, is surrounded by remains of the walls of the more ancient Orchomenus ; the masonry in some parts has all the appearances of a remote antiquity. Orchomenus resembled most of the other Arcadian cities in having occupied, in early times, the summit of a strong hill ; it was probably not so important in those ages as it became when the towns around Megalopolis were deserted. It then spread over the slope, towards the charadra ;

the old site probably serving as an Acropolis to the new town, until its walls fell to ruin, in which state Pausanias found them. I perceive some remains of terraces on the slope of the mountain, looking towards Kandíla, and others on the back of the ridge towards the ravine of Mount *Trachy*. At the foot of the hill on the north-western side, I was informed of another fountain, standing near a ruined church, in which are some ancient marbles. All the slope of the hill facing the *Trachy*, and below the village, is covered with broken stones and pottery; there are traces also of walls below Kalpáki, which shew that the later *Orchomenus* reached nearly to the plain.

I leave Kalpáki at 4.12, descend into the ravine of Mount *Trachy* at 4.23, and in five minutes, having passed through it, enter the ἄλλο Ὀρχομένιον πεδίου of Pausanias, or the northern plain of *Orchomenus*. The difference of level between the two plains appears to me to be not less than two hundred feet. The stream from the upper plain runs rapidly through the gorge between *Trachy* and the city, falling over the rocks, and turning a mill. It then crosses a part of the plain into the lake which extends westward to the foot of the heights of Bazeníko, along the summit of which I passed on March 3d, in the road from Tara to Levídhi. Baze-

níko, as I then remarked, stands on the edge of an elevated valley, in the middle region of the *Mænalian* chain; its level is about as high as that of Levídhi, and it is consequently above the level of the upper plain of *Orchomenus*, in which the water-courses from Levídhi and the other surrounding heights collect, and flow along the artificial trench to the *charadra* between *Orchomenus* and the *Trachy*. The north-western side of the lake is bordered by a small plain, in which stands the village of Khotússa, not far from the foot of a mountain, called Kastaniá, which separates this plain from the vale of Tara. Half an hour from Khotúsa, on the side of the mountain which takes an eastern direction from Kastaniá towards Kandíla, stands the village of Bedéni. The lake of *Orchomenus*, like all the *Peloponnesian* lakes, has its *zerethra*, or katavóthra. The place is called Pliása, and is situated at the north-western extremity of the lake, under Bazeníko; the waters issue again under Koma, on the northern side of Mount Kastaniá, and flow from thence to the river of Vitína, which, as I have already mentioned, they join near the Khan of Tara. At Khotússa, which stands near the edge of the lake, there is a small insulated height, upon which are some remains of the walls of *Caphyæ*. As the topography of

the battle of Caphyæ is much connected with that of the country I am about to visit to the northward and eastward, I shall defer for the present any remarks on that celebrated occurrence in the military history of Greece.

The plain of *Caphyæ*, of which I had a good view on March 3d, and which is well seen also from the summit of the hill of *Orchomenus*, is not visible from our present road, which pursues the foot of the rocky range of *Trachy*, leaving all the lower *Orchomenian* plain on the left. At 4.50 several streams issue from under the rocks on the right, and immediately enter a deep marsh, in which there are probably other springs. These, with the charadra from the glen of *Trachy*, and the torrent of *Kandíli*, are the waters which constitute the lake of *Orchomenus*. It appears, from the following passage of Pausanias, that the fountains just mentioned are the ancient Teneiæ<sup>a</sup>. “After proceeding” he says, “three stades out of Orchomenus, occurs the road to Caphyæ, which leads at first along the ravine, and then turns to the left along the side of the lake<sup>b</sup>. Another road crosses the torrent, and passes under Mount Trachy, to the tomb of Aristocrates, be-

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 13.

καὶ μετὰ ταυτὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρὰ  
τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λιμνάζον.

<sup>b</sup> ἡ εὐθεῖα ἐπὶ πόλιν Καφυᾶν  
ἄγει παρὰ τε αὐτὴν τὴν χαράδραν,

yond which are the fountains called Teneiæ. Seven stades farther is the village<sup>a</sup> Amilus, which they say was once a city. Here again the road divides into two, one leading to Stymphalus, the other to Pheneus. That to Pheneus crosses a mountain, in which the confines<sup>b</sup> of the Orchomenii, Pheneatæ, and Caphyatæ meet in the same point. Above the boundaries rises a precipitous rock, called the Caphyatic rock;—the road then passes through a ravine<sup>c</sup>, in which there is a stream rising from a fountain. At the extremity of the glen stands Caryæ, below which lies the plain of the Pheneatæ.”

Our road, after reaching the end of the plain, passes under the monastery of Kandíli, which is situated half a mile on the right, in the front of a cavern, on the face of a precipitous mountain, which is connected with *Trachy* and *Anchisia*. We then pursue a small branch of the same plain, along the middle of which flows the torrent of Kandíli, descending towards the lake. After following up this branch of the plain about twenty minutes from below the monastery, we arrive, at 5.40, at the village of Kandíli<sup>d</sup>. It consists of 100 houses, dispersed upon the wide bed of the torrent, and

<sup>a</sup> χωρίον.

<sup>b</sup> συνάπτουσιν ὅροι.

<sup>c</sup> φάραγξ.

<sup>d</sup> Καντήλι.

closely surrounded on all sides by high rocky mountains, the sides of which are covered with firs, and the summits now tipt with snow. Nothing can well be clearer than the description which Pausanias has given of the roads from Orchomenus to Caphyæ, Pheneus, and Stymphalus. The first made a half circuit of the lake to Caphyæ. The road to *Pheneus* crossed the plain a little after passing the fountains *Teneiæ*, ascended the mountains not far on the right of a zevgaláti of the monastery of Kandíli, passed between the mountains Saetá and Lykórema, and entered the plain of *Pheneus* at Gióza<sup>a</sup>, which appears to be the site of *Caryæ*. The third route passed by Kandíli; I follow it

April 1, this morning.—Sending my baggage by the direct road to Foniá, which, from the village of Kandíli, immediately ascends the mountain and soon joins the road from Kalpáki to Foniá, which was the ancient route from Orchomenus to Pheneus, I ascend the pass at the back of Kandíli which separates the high summit known by the name of Skipézi, or Lykórema, from that to the south-east of Kandíli, which is connected with Mount Armeniá, and is commonly called Aio Konstantín. Leaving the village at 8.8, I arrive, at 9, on the dhiásylo

<sup>a</sup> Γχιόζα.



(διάσυλον,) a word signifying a connecting ridge or natural pass, and more commonly used in *Arcadia*, than the ordinary word ζυγός. The mountain on the left has a remarkable cavern, or shady hollow, which contains snow all the summer, an unlucky circumstance for the poor Kandiliótes, who are obliged to supply the Serai at Tripolitzá from it, and carry the snow there at their own expense. From the pass we look down to the right upon a narrow valley which has an eastern direction, and is watered by a small stream running westward, and ending in a katavóthra, of which the *Teneiæ* are probably the emissary. Near the western extremity of the valley just below us, I perceive the village of Skotiní. Beyond the valley is seen a part of the plain of St. George, (the *Phliasia*;) the valley itself was probably the district of the ancient Alea, of which some remains might, perhaps, be found in it. On the side of the mountain which rises from the southern side of the valley of Skotiní, is situated the village Buyáti, but not in sight. Beyond the plain of *Phlius* appear the mountains between Argos and Corinth; in the opposite direction is a view of *Orchomenus* and its two plains.

From the dhiásylo we turn to the left of our former direction, and begin to descend into the *Stymphalia*—leave the summit of the *Col* at

9.9, and, after skirting the side of the mountain for a short distance, descend the Lykórema <sup>a</sup> ; it is a ravine between two lofty summits, covered with firs mixed with a few ilex and other trees, among which I see some yews. On the descent, we arrive at a fine source of water. Here the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages often wait in summer to shoot the deer <sup>b</sup> when they come here to drink, the other springs and waters of the mountain being then dry. My guides describe the deer as being sometimes as large as an ox, and as having long branching antlers, which are renewed every year. Wolves are said to be common, as might be presumed from the name of the glen. Hares also are numerous. I see some bushes of wild gooseberry in the mountain with the fruit just formed ; it is called λουλουστίδα : the children, they say, come in the season and gather the fruit. We descend along a rivulet which flows from the spring, and at 10.45 arrive at the edge of the plain of *Stymphalus* : in the latter part of the descent, our direction bore obliquely to the left, leaving on the right the lake of Zaraká, or *Stymphalus*, the katavóthra of which were in sight, and distant from us about two miles. Like most of these subterraneous en-

<sup>a</sup> Λυκόρευμα, wolf's torrent.

<sup>b</sup> ἐλάφια.

trances, it is a cavern at the foot of a limestone precipice, terminating the slope of a steep rocky mountain. Opposite to the katavóthra, on the northern side of the lake, and distant from it a mile and a half, there is a remarkable rocky projection of Mount Zýria, the steep termination of which forms the northern side of the valley of *Stymphalus*. Between this promontory and another advancing ridge of Mount Zýria, to the eastward, there is a hollow, or valley, in which are three or four small villages, containing from four to ten houses each, and all known by the name of Kiónia. The first mentioned cape advances nearly to the margin of the lake, and in winter there is no road but along the heights upon which stood the city of *Stymphalus*. The natives do not confirm the assertion of Pausanias, that in summer there is no lake, though it is confined to a small circuit around the katavóthra. At the eastern end of the vale of Kiónia there is a copious kefalóvrysi, which is the source of the river *Stymphalus*. In summer the river flows obliquely for two miles across the plain ; at this season it becomes enveloped in the waters of the lake, at a short distance from the sources. Its course, however, is traceable through the shallower water to the katavóthra, so that it seems not to contribute much to the lake, which is formed by the rain water falling

on the two lofty mountains to the north and south, added to the contributions of two small rivers which join the lake at the two extremities; that to the westward rises in the hills near Kastaniá; the eastern flows from a low woody ridge, which terminates the prospect in that direction. On this ridge stands the village of Túsia, and between it and the eastern end of the site of *Stymphalus* is the vale of Zaraká, which village is about a mile from the eastern extremity of the lake. The plain of *Stymphalus* is about six miles in length, of which, at present, the lake occupies a third in the middle. The ancient town surrounded the projecting cape, and extended from thence to the source of the river inclusive. The principal remains are upon or near the promontory, and consist of ruins of polygonal walls, the vestiges of a temple on the summit of the projection, and, to the eastward of it, the scattered remains of another temple near a large ruined church, which seems to shew that *Stymphalus* was the site of a considerable place under the Byzantine empire<sup>a</sup>. The

<sup>a</sup> Its name I cannot discover. According to Chalcondylas, (l. 9.) when Mahomet the Second, in the year 1458, marched through this part of the country, he took Ταρσός and ἈκριϞή and Πούπειλη

in the Phlissia. There is still a village named Tharsó (Θαρσός;) to the north-eastward of Foniá, whence it seems possible that Kiónia, lying between that situation and the Phlissia, may be the

temple was probably that of Diana, mentioned by Pausanias. On the cape, perhaps, stood a temple of Neptune, for he was a favourite deity among the Arcadians, and his temples often occupied such projecting heights<sup>a</sup>. The situation of Stymphalus was very important in a military point of view, as it commanded one of the most frequented routes in the Peloponnesus, that leading to the westward from the Corinthia and the Argolis. It is evident that in the winter the only convenient route was through the city itself. The name Stympheleus, or, according to the local pronunciation, which was also that of the greater part of the Peloponnesus, Stympthalus, was applied not only to the town, but to the great mountain connected with and lying southward of Mount Cyllene, which rose above the town; to the source of water which issued from the foot of the mountain; to the river formed by the source; and, in the adjective form, to the lake through which the river flowed.

The mountain which rises from the southern side of the valley opposite to Stympthalus, and at the foot of which is the *katavóthra*, was an-

situation of Acrife. But I cannot learn that either this name or Rhupele are now in existence; nor do I find any bishopric in this part of the country, either in the *Notitiæ Episcopatum*,

or in the modern catalogues, except that of Polyphengus, which was on the site of the ancient Phlius.

<sup>a</sup> Ποσειδῆα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς. Strabo, p. 343.



ciently called Apelaureum, as we learn from Polybius, who has described Apelaureum as rising in face of Stymphalus, at a distance of ten stades<sup>a</sup>. There was probably a small town also of Apelaureus, for Livy mentions it as a place in the Stymphalia, where the Achæan forces under Nicostratus were assembled previously to their march to Cleonæ and Corinth, near which latter place they gained a complete victory over the Macedonians under Androstenes<sup>b</sup>.

Pausanias speaks of Stymphalus in the following terms<sup>c</sup>: “The Stymphalii are not now numbered<sup>d</sup> among the Arcadians, but belong to the Argolic community<sup>e</sup>, having voluntarily transferred themselves to it; but that they are of Arcadian race, the words of Homer testify, as well as Stymphalus, the founder, who was the third in descent from Arcas, the son of Callisto. It is said that the place was originally founded in another situation, and not where the city now stands. In the present city there is a source, from which the Emperor Hadrian conducted water to Corinth. In the winter season this fountain forms a small lake, in summer there is no lake; but only a river flowing

<sup>a</sup> τὸ Ἀπέλαυρον πρόκειται τῆς τῶν Στυμφαλίων πόλεως περὶ δέκα στάδια. Polyb. l. 4. c. 69.

<sup>b</sup> Liv. l. 33. c. 14. It happened in the same year as the

battle of Cynoscephalæ, B. C. 197.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 22.

<sup>d</sup> τεταγμένοι.

<sup>e</sup> εἰς τὸ Ἀργολικὸν συντελοῦσι.



from the fountain ; this river descends into a chasm of the earth, and, appearing again in the Argolis, is there called Erasinus instead of Stymphalus. It is reported that the lake of Stymphalus formerly produced birds which devoured men, and that they were destroyed by the arrows of Hercules. These Stympthalides are as large as cranes, but their form resembles that of the Ibis ; their beaks, however, are stronger, and not crooked like the beak of the Ibis<sup>a</sup>. In Stymphalus there is an ancient temple of Diana Stymphalia, with a wooden statue, of which the greater part is gilded ; under the roof of the temple are figures of the birds Stympthalides : it is difficult to distinguish whether they are made of wood or plaster ; to me they appeared to be of wood. Behind the same temple stand statues of white marble, representing young women with the legs and thighs of birds.”

The present natives concur in the ancient belief, that the river which enters the *zerethra* of Mount *Apelaureum* issues again at the mills of Argos. The fact of their belief is the more curious, as the distance between the two points is much greater than the length of any of the other subterraneous rivers of the Peloponnesus,

<sup>a</sup> Some of the coins of head of the birds exactly as Stymphalus represent the Pausanias here describes it.

and several high mountains and intersecting ridges intervene. It is probably a tradition, the truth of which had in ancient times been ascertained by experiment; this would not be difficult by the means of any light substance thrown in considerable quantity into the *katavóthra*.

We descend into the western end of the *Stymphalian* valley at a small advanced height of Mount Skipézi, which here projects into the plain, and on the crest of which I perceive in several parts the foundations of a Hellenic wall formed of large quadrangular stones. They are remains, I suspect, of the castle of *Oligyrtus*. A mile farther, in a corner of the plain just under the summit of Mount Skipézi, stands Lafka; on the opposite slope of Mount Zýria is Bash, a *zevgaláti* belonging to Nuri Bey. All this plain is in the *vilayéti* of Corinth, which includes also Foniá and Gióza. Quitting the ancient fortress at 10.55, and passing through the vineyards which occupy all this end of the *Stymphalian* plain, we leave Lafka three quarters of a mile on the left, and, at 11.10, cross a brisk stream flowing towards the lake from the little valley of Kastaniá, which branches out of this end of the plain. Soon afterwards we recross the stream, and passing up the valley begin, at 11½, to mount the *dhiásylo*, or

lower ridge, which connects the *Cyllenian* summits with those of Mount Skipézi, and which thus forms a natural separation between the *Stymphalia* and *Pheneatice*. This connecting ridge was anciently called *Geronteium*. Here is a khan, which has been built by the people of Kastaniá to keep travellers out of their village; for the pass is upon a road of considerable traffic, leading from Anápli, Argos, and Corinth, to Foniá, Kalávryta, and Patra. The two roads from Argos and from Corinth unite in the plain of *Phlius*, and lead from thence through the site of *Stymphalus* to Kastaniá. At 11.45, at three-fourths of the ascent, we turn out of the road to the right, and, at 11.55, arrive at Kastaniá. There are two makhaládhes, or separate quarters, with twenty or twenty-five houses in each. The place possesses large flocks of sheep and goats which are fed in the neighbouring pastures of Mount Zýria, and produce a considerable quantity of cheese, which is usually sold to Adriatic ships at Vostítza or Corinth. The first question which the proestós asks me is, why the Sclavonians do not come as usual to take away their cheese, and he complains of their misery in consequence.

I quit Kastaniá at 1½, return into the main road, and, at 1.48, reach the summit of the pass, which commands a fine view of the plain

of Foniá. Moving forward at 2.15, we descend the western face of Mount *Geronteium* obliquely, in the direction of the town of Foniá. *Tricrena* seems to have been on the summit of the ridge farther north; for, according to Pausanias, it was situated to the left of the summit of Geronteium in travelling from Pheneus to Stymphalus, and on the boundary line of the Pheneatice and Stymphalia, which followed the crest of Geronteium<sup>a</sup>. *Tricrena* was so called from three fountains, and was famed for being the place in which the nymphs of the mountain bathed Mercury when he was born. A neighbouring mountain, called *Sepia*, above which rose *Cyllene*, contained the tomb of *Æpytus*, son of *Elatus*, who was said to have there perished by the bite of a serpent and to have been buried on the spot. The tomb was situated under Mount *Cyllene*<sup>b</sup>, and was a small heap of earth surrounded by a basis<sup>c</sup>. Hence *Sepia* appears to have been the lofty summit or part of *Cyllene* which rises abruptly from the plain of Foniá, east from that town and north from *Kastaniá*.

We halt five minutes on the descent of the

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 16, 17. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Οἱ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ, Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον.—Il. B. 604.

<sup>c</sup> γῆς χῶμα οὐ μέγα, λίθου κρηπίδι ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον.—Pausan. Arcad. c. 16.

mountain, and, at 3.15, arrive at a *tjiftlík*, belonging to Nuri Bey of Corinth, consisting of twenty or thirty houses, with a large white *pyrgo*. There is another of the same description a mile and a half farther north, on the side of the mountain, and two others, smaller, still farther in the same direction. At 3.20 enter the plain five minutes below the first-mentioned village, and, crossing it in the direction of Foniá, pass the river anciently called Olbius or Aroanius at 3.40—at 3.50 arrive at the insulated height upon which stood the ancient Pheneus, and where still remain, on the side towards the modern Foniá, some pieces of the walls with square and round towers. Quitting the hill of ancient Pheneus at 4½, I arrive, at 4.45, at my *konak*, in the middle of the *kalývia* of Foniá, which is much larger than Foniá itself.

Before I proceed to describe the Pheneatice, I shall here insert, as being the most convenient place, a few remarks on the topography of Caphyæ, particularly as relating to the battle. Pausanias has accurately defined the boundaries of the Caphyatæ on every side but the north. They possessed all the northern and western side of the lower Orchomenian valley, the eastern extremity of which belonged to the Orchomenii. To the south-westward, the common boundary of Caphyæ, Methydrium, and Orchomenus, ap-



pears to have been in the dhiásylo of Bazeníko, through which I passed, March 3, in the way from Tara to Levídhi; probably it was not far from the village Bazeníko, for Pausanias<sup>a</sup> remarks, that there was a distance of thirty stades from Methydrium to the fountain Nymphasia<sup>b</sup>, and as much more to the common boundaries of the Orchomenii, Caphyataë, and Megalopolitæ, by the last of whom he here means the Methydrienses; and I find that a distance of sixty stades from Methydrium reaches exactly to Bazeníko, and naturally forms the point of contact of the three little states. At Gránitza, a village above the right bank of the Vitína river, about half way between the site of *Methydrium* and Bazeníko, there is a remarkable fountain, corresponding to the Nymphasia of Pausanias. The boundary of the *Caphyataë* eastward was the *Caphyatic rock*, in the pass of Gióza, which was naturally the road to Pheneus both from Orchomenus and from Caphyæ: the rock was in the Caphyatic territory adjacent to the triple boundary of Orchomenus, Caphyæ, and Pheneus.

Of Caphyæ Pausanias thus speaks<sup>c</sup>: “I have already related, in speaking of Orchomenus, that the direct road to Caphyæ leads along the

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 36.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Νυμφασία πηγή.



torrent, and from thence to the left of the lake <sup>a</sup>. In the plain of the Caphyenses there is a mound of earth <sup>b</sup>, by means of which the water from the Orchomenia is prevented from injuring the cultivated fields of the Caphyenses. Within the embankment there flows another water, equal in size to a river <sup>c</sup>, which, descending into a chasm of the earth, issues again at the place called Nasi: the village <sup>d</sup> where it emerges is named Rheunus; it forms the perennial river Tragus. The name of Caphyæ is evidently derived from Cepheus, the son of Aleus, but the Arcadic form of Caphyæ has prevailed. The Caphyenses affirm, that they derive their origin from Attica, and that their ancestors, having been expelled by Ægeus from Athens, fled to this place, where, becoming the suppliants of Cepheus, they were allowed by him to remain. The city is small and stands at the extremity of a plain, at the foot of some mountains not very lofty. The Caphyataæ have temples of Neptune, and of Diana who receives the surname of Cnacalesia from a mountain, called Cnacalus, where they celebrate a yearly festival to Diana. At a fountain a little above

<sup>a</sup> πρῶτα μὲν παρὰ τὴν χαράδραν ἔστιν εὐθεΐα, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ λιμνάζοντος.

<sup>b</sup> γῆς χῶμα.

<sup>c</sup> ἔξουσιν ὕδωρ ἄλλο, πληθεὶ μὲν ὅσον τε εἶναι ποταμὸν.

<sup>d</sup> χωρίον.

the city there is a large and beautiful plane tree, called Menelais, which Menelaus is said to have planted when he was collecting his army for the expedition to Troy<sup>a</sup>. Both the fountain and plane tree are now called Menelais. About one stade distant from Caphyæ there is a place called Condylea, and a grove of Diana, anciently called Condyleatis; from thence, after an ascent of seven stades from Caphyæ, the road descends to the place called Nasi, fifty stades beyond which is the river Ladon."

It has already been remarked, that the *charadra*, or ravine between Mount *Trachy* and the hill of *Orchomenus*, is the discharge of the waters of the upper *Orchomenian* plain into the lower, and that a large portion of the latter is occupied by the lake, which extends to *Khotússa*<sup>b</sup>, or *Caphyæ*, and to the *katavóthra* below *Bazeníko*. It has been seen also that *Pausanias* twice speaks of the *εὐθεΐα*, or ordinary route to Caphyæ, as turning to the left, upon emerging from the *charadra*; in the latter of the two passages he explains himself more clearly than in the other by saying that the road

<sup>a</sup> Pausanias adds, that it was the oldest tree he knew, next to the agnus-castus [*ἀγνός*] in the *Heræum* of *Samus*, the oak [*δξῦς*] of *Dodona*, the olive [*ἐλαία*] in the

*Acropolis* of *Athens* and that at *Delus*, and the bay tree [*δάφνη*] of the *Syrians*, (at *Daphne*, near *Antioch*.)

<sup>b</sup> *Χωτοῦσσα*.

led to the left of the lake. It seems therefore, that from the lower end of the *charadra* the road followed the southern bank of the lake under the hill of *Orchomenus*, and then passed along the high ground above the *katavóthra*, by which means it avoided the marshy lands at the eastern end of the lake in the lower plain, which was, moreover, the more circuitous way. The former therefore, though by no means direct, was the shortest road between *Orchomenus* and *Caphyæ*, and in that sense might be called the *εὐθεΐα*.

As *Pausanias* remarks moreover, that the greater part of the lower plain was a lake, he shews, that towards *Orchomenus* at least the valley was in its present state. On the other hand, his description of *Caphyæ*, as situated on the edge of a plain at the foot of a mountain, as well as that of the embankment which protected the low lands of the *Caphyatis* from inundation, and *within* which a river flowed to the *katavóthra*, indicates a state of the locality different from the present, when the site of *Caphyæ* might be more correctly described as being on the edge of a lake, which is formed by all the rivers and torrents of the surrounding mountains, added to the contributions of several subterraneous sources. It seems probable, therefore, that in the time of *Pausanias* there was an

embankment extending through the present lake in an eastern and western direction, not far from the left bank of the river of Kandíli. The effect of this dyke was to leave a cultivated plain in front of *Caphyæ*, through which the river flowed to the chasms, and it confined the lake to the part of the plain towards Orchomenus, where its principal contributions were from the charadra of Trachy and the Teneiæ.

The mountain above Khotússa, now called Kastaniá, seems to be the ancient Cnacalus. Immediately at the foot of that ridge, on the western side, are the sources of the river Tara, which word, as I have already remarked, is perhaps a corruption of the ancient name Tragus. Here, therefore, is the place formerly called Nasi, and the site of Rheunus; and its distance from the nearest point of the *Ladon* agrees very well with the fifty stades of Pausanias.

The following are the leading particulars of the battle of Caphyæ, as related by Polybius <sup>a</sup>. In the second spring after the Cleomenic war had been concluded by the capture of Sparta and the flight of Cleomenes into Egypt, the Ætolians, accustomed to plunder, and therefore impatient of peace, who had been kept quiet by their fears during the life of Antigonos, but who felt

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. l. 4. c. 6.

no such respect for his young successor Philip, resolved upon finding some pretext for sending an army into the Peloponnesus, that country having been the usual scene of their violence and rapine, and where, under the cloak of an alliance, they made use of Phigaleia as a convenient place of retreat and of deposit for their plunder. Suddenly crossing the straits of Rhium, they ravaged the districts of Patræ, Tritæa, and Pharæ, and then proceeded to Phigaleia, passing amicably through the Eleia, with which state they had always been in close alliance. Soon after their arrival at Phigaleia they proceeded to overrun Messenia, the plunder of which was the chief object of the expedition, as well from private motives of resentment on the part of Dorimachus their leader, as from the superior riches of Messenia, which had escaped pillage during the Cleomenic war. The Achæians, on their part, after having received in council at Ægium the complaints of the Arcadians and Messenians, assembled in arms at Megalopolis, from whence they despatched a message to the Ætolian commanders requiring them to quit Messenia, threatening at the same time to treat them as enemies if they entered Achaia in their retreat. The Ætolians thought it prudent to make a shew of obedience ; accordingly

they sent forward their plunder through the Eleia towards Rhium, while the army followed at a short distance, and they assembled transports at the island Pheias<sup>a</sup>, for the purpose of securing the embarkation of the baggage at the port of Pheia in case they should be unable to convey it across the strait of Rhium. Aratus, deceived by these appearances, dismissed the Lacedæmonians and a great part of the allies, and preserved only 3000 Achaian infantry, 300 cavalry, and a body of Macedonians under Taurion, who had been left by Antigonos in possession of Corinth and Orchomenus. With these Aratus moved from Megalopolis towards Patræ to observe the movements of the Ætolians. Dorimachus ordered his march towards Rhium, and sent forward his baggage to the same place; but fearing that he should be attacked there to a disadvantage when embarking, and thinking that it was better to meet the enemy, he suddenly turned off to Olympia, from whence, on hearing that Aratus was in the Cleitoria, he marched to Methydrium. Aratus then moved to Caphyæ. The route of Dorimachus we may conceive to have been by *Heræa*, *Buphagus*, and *Theisoa*, leaving

<sup>a</sup> A small island on the northern side of Cape Katá-kolo, below the castle of Pondikó-kastro, the ancient *Pheia*.



the modern Dhimitzána on the right; that of Aratus, from *Cleitōr*, led down the narrow valley of the *Aroanius* to Tara, thence to the sources of the *Tragus*, and over Mount Kastaniá to Khotússa (*Caphyæ*).

When the Ætolians had marched from Methydrium into the plain of Orchomenus and were passing the city, Aratus drew out his forces in the plain of Caphyæ, with the river in front, before which there were some deep trenches, which afforded additional protection. The Ætolians, perceiving the strength of the position of the Achæians and their readiness for action, declined to attack, and continued their route as intending to cross the mountains to Oligyrtus<sup>a</sup>. When the head of the Ætolian column of infantry had attained the pass, and the cavalry which covered their rear in the plain, had arrived at the advanced height called Propus<sup>b</sup>, Aratus sent, at that moment, his light armed to harass the enemy's rear<sup>c</sup>, which induced the cavalry to hasten forward and join the infantry. Aratus, mistaking

<sup>a</sup> ἐποιοῦντο τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀλίγυρτον.

<sup>b</sup> — τῆς πρωτοπορείας τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἥδη προβαίνουσης πρὸς

τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν δ' ἰππέων οὐραγούντων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ συνεγγιζόντων τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ Πρόποδι τῆς Παρωρείας.—

<sup>c</sup> τῆς οὐραγίας.

this movement for a flight, supported his light armed with some thoracitæ from the wings, and then advanced his whole army by one of the wings <sup>a</sup> towards the enemy. The Ætolian cavalry having gained the heights, and called back the infantry, the whole formed on the foot of the hill: an engagement began with the Achaian horse and light armed, which at length became general, when the Ætolians, having the advantage both in number and position, gained a complete victory, and would have entirely destroyed their enemy, had not the neighbouring fortresses of Orchomenus and Caphyæ supplied a safe retreat.

The Megalopolitans who, on hearing of the arrival of the Ætolians at Methydrium, had assembled their forces, arrived on the field of action the day after the battle, in time only to assist in burying the dead. The Ætolians continued their route through the Peloponnesus <sup>b</sup>, and after having attempted to take the city of Pellene, and plundered the Sicyonia, they retired through the Isthmus.

Polybius, who admits the talents of Aratus as a statesman, and admires his enterprizing spirit and energy on some particular occasions, ad-

<sup>a</sup> ἐπὶ κέρως κλίναντες.

<sup>b</sup> διὰ μέσης Πελοποννήσου.

duces the battle of Caphyæ as a proof of his incompetency to command an army in the field. By dismissing the allies too quickly, and by attacking the enemy at the moment of their quitting the plain of Orchomenus, instead of when they entered it, by which he gave them the advantage of position, he not only lost an opportunity of chastising the Ætolians, but encouraged them in their insolence and injustice.

In this narrative it is remarkable that the historian refers to a plain in front of Caphyæ, traversed by a river beyond which were trenches (τάφροι), a description of the place which does not correspond with present appearances. The τάφροι were evidently ditches for the purpose of draining the marshy plain, by conducting the water towards the katavóthra, around which there was probably a small lake. In the time of Pausanias we find that the lake covered the greater part of the plain, and that exactly in the situation in which Polybius describes the ditches, there was a mound of earth, a work apparently of the same kind as those embankments of which there are still some remains in the plains of Styμφalus and Pheneus. Nothing is more probable, than that during the four centuries so fatal to the prosperity of Greece, which elapsed between the battle of Caphyæ and the

visit of Pausanias, a diminution of population should have caused a neglect of the drainage which had formerly ensured the cultivation of the whole plain, and that in the time of the Roman empire an embankment of earth had been thrown up to preserve the part nearest to Caphyæ, leaving the rest uncultivated and marshy. At present, if there are any remains of the embankment, which I did not perceive, it does not prevent any of the land from being submerged during several months, for the water now extends very nearly to the site of Caphyæ, although the season is within seven weeks of the anniversary of the battle<sup>a</sup>.

As the Ætolians were passing the town of Orchomenus<sup>b</sup> when Aratus drew out his forces behind the river of Caphyæ, and as the Ætolians, after observing the position of the Achæians, continued their march towards Oligyrtus, it seems evident that Propus, where

<sup>a</sup> This appears from two remarks of Polybius [l. 4. c. 7.37.]: 1. that Aratus, when he took the field not many days before the battle of Caphyæ, had anticipated by five days the regular commencement of the Achæian *στρατηγία*:—2. that the official year commenced at the rising of

the Pleiades, or about the middle of May. The battle was fought in the fourth year of the 139th Olympiad, B. C. 220.

<sup>b</sup> τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ποιοιμένων τὴν πορείαν ἀπὸ Μεθυδρίου παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ὀρχομενίων πόλιν, &c.

the action took place, was, as the name indicates, at the foot of the mountain, probably near the entrance of the valley in which Kandíli stands, and from the upper extremity of which begins the pass of Lykórema leading into the *Stymphalia*; for that Oligyrtus was the ancient name of this mountain and pass, as well as that of the castle which stood at the northern extremity of it on the edge of the Stymphalian plain, is confirmed, I think, by other evidence, especially in the sequel of the military transactions in the Peloponnesus, of which I shall now add a summary, as containing a general confirmation of several ancient positions in Arcadia and the Eleia.

The next act of hostility on the part of the Ætolians was a plundering expedition under Scopas and Dorimachus against Cynætha (now Kalávryta); it was undertaken in union with the Illyrians, whose fleet was at Naupactus. Cynætha was noted for its intestine dissensions, and the people were so much disliked, that although they were of Arcadian race, the other Arcadians would scarcely hold any intercourse with them<sup>a</sup>. An exiled party, which had just

<sup>a</sup> Polybius attributes the cruelty and wickedness (ὠμότης καὶ παρανομία) of the people of Cynætha to their neglect of music, an art which

included singing and dancing. He adds, that it was by the assiduous cultivation and practice of music, that the other Arcadians had not only



been restored to their city by the mediation of the Achaïans, immediately betrayed the place to the Ætolians, who, with an equal promptitude of treachery, murdered them and plundered their houses. Leaving a garrison in the place, the Ætolians then marched to the temple of Diana (Hemeresia) in the way from Cynætha to Cleitor, which belonged to the Lusiataë, and did not desist from pillage until the Lusiataë had agreed to deliver to them a part of the sacred furniture of the goddess. From the temple they continued their route to Cleitor, where their attempts upon the walls of the town and the loyalty of the inhabitants having been equally unsuccessful, they returned by the same route to Cynætha, carrying off the sacred cattle of the Lusiataë in violation of their former agreement. Upon receiving intelligence soon afterwards of a movement against them, devised by Taurion, the Macedonian who commanded at Corinth, they set fire to Cynætha and retreated to Rhium through passes, *μόνου σαλπικτοῦ δεομένων*, or so narrow, that there wanted only a trumpeter to throw them into confusion. This last remark was aimed by the historian at Aratus, as a reproach for his negligence.

In every part of Achaia, the rugged mountain counteracted the effect of their rude climate, laborious habits, and austere manners, but had become noted among the Greeks for piety and benevolence : [l. 4. c. 20.]



tains which overhang the maritime plains, and the narrow gorges through which the rivers force their way to that coast, render all the approaches to Arcadia on that side extremely strong; by whatever route, therefore, the Ætolians reached Cynætha, or retired from that place, they must have been exposed to attack in the manner which Polybius hints. The road by Megaspílio along the river of Kalávryta, which was the nearest way from *Cynætha* to the *Achaian* coast, is of the same character, and there is in particular, at the exit of the river in the plain of *Bura*, a narrow pass between perpendicular rocks, to which the strong expression of the historian evidently refers, in speaking of the line of retreat of Scopas and Dorimachus. The Ætolians returned home about the same time that Philip arrived at Corinth to assist the Achæians, soon after which, in the autumn of the year B.C. 220, the decree of alliance against the Ætolians was passed, from which Polybius dates the commencement of the Social War<sup>a</sup>.

In the ensuing summer, the only military occurrences in the Peloponnesus, were an attempt upon the Achæian city of Ægeira, and some incursions of the Eleians, under the Ætolian Euripidas, upon the adjacent parts of Achæia. The Ætolians, under Dorimachus,

<sup>a</sup> Συμμαχικὸς Πόλεμος. Polyb. l. 4. c. 26.

embarking at Œantheia in Phocis, crossed the Corinthiac gulf, and surprised Ægeira by the assistance of a deserter, but having dispersed themselves through the town for the sake of plunder, they were successfully attacked by the Ægeirataæ, and obliged to seek their safety in flight: some were killed, others were hurried down the precipices, and a few only escaped to the ships. Euripidas soon afterwards made incursions upon the lands of Dyme, Pharæ, and Tritæa, and took Teichus in the Dymæa, and Gorgus in the Thelpusia<sup>a</sup>.

But the peninsula was an inferior scene of action during the campaigning season of this year. In northern Greece, the Ætolians surprised and destroyed Dium in Macedonia, and Dodona in Epirus, and Philip, in return, wrested several places from the enemy, of which the principal was Œeniadæ in Acarnania. In the very depth of the ensuing winter, the young Macedonian king moved suddenly from Larissa to Corinth with about 6000 men, and encamped at Dioscurium, in the Phliasia, in his route to Caphyæ, where the Achaian forces were ordered to assemble. It happened exactly at the same time, that Euripidas, little expecting such a movement, had

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. l. 4. c. 57. et seq.

marched with a body of 2000 Eleians and mercenaries from Psophis, by Pheneus, to Stymphalus, and was approaching Sicyon with the design of laying waste the country. On the very night that Philip encamped at Dioscurium, Euripidas passed the king, and halted, ready to enter the Sicyonia on the following day. As soon as he discovered his danger by means of some stragglers, he turned suddenly about, and made for the passes leading out of the Stymphalia, (the *dhiásyla* of *Lykórema* and *Kastaniá*.) In the morning the advanced guards of the two opponent armies found themselves at the same moment ascending Mount Apelaureum, which was ten stades from Stymphalus. Euripidas, without attempting to make any resistance, fled with a few horsemen to Psophis, and the Eleians retreated to the neighbouring hills, where, with the exception of about 100, they were all either slain or taken, and sent prisoners to Corinth. Philip continued his route through the Stymphalia, and, after meeting with great impediment from the snow on Mount Oligyrtus, arrived on the third day at Caphyæ. Here he was joined by the younger Aratus with the Achæians, when, after a delay of two days, he marched, at the head of 10,000 men, through the Cleitoria, to Psophis, his route being, it is probable, precisely in the reverse direction of

that by which I came from Tripótamo to the site of *Cleitor*, and from thence down the valley of the *Aroanius*, and up that of the *Tragus*, to Tara. I have before had occasion to speak of the capture of Isophis by Philip, as well as to trace his subsequent operations in the Eleia and Triphylia, from whence he succeeded in expelling the Ætolians in the course of a few winter days. It is clear, from these transactions, that the mountain on the southern side of the lake of Zaraká was *Apelaurum*, and the pass of Lykórema that of *Oligyrtus*. It is from Plutarch we learn, that there was a fortress as well as a mountain of Oligyrtus, for he relates that Cleomenes, king of Sparta, drove out the garrison of Oligyrtus on his way from Phlius to Orchomenus<sup>a</sup>. I have already remarked that its position is probably indicated by the Hellenic remains near Lafka, in the *Stymphalian* valley.

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. in Cleomen.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

ARCADIA.

ACHAIA.

PHENEUS.—The PHENEATICE.—Foniá, its plain, rivers, and mountains.—The Arcadian zerethra.—From Foniá to Klukínes.—The mountain and river CRATHIS.—STYX.—To Megaspilio.—LUSI, CYNÆTHA.—To Vostitza.—CERYNEIA, ÆGIUM.—To Patra.

THE following are the observations of Pausanias<sup>a</sup> on the Pheneatice.—“ On the road ”, he says, “ from Stymphalus to Pheneus a mountain presents itself, where the boundaries of the Orchmenii, Pheneatæ, and Caphyatæ, meet in the same point, above which rises a steep precipice, called the Caphyatic rock. Below this common boundary there is a narrow passage<sup>b</sup>, through which lies the way to Pheneus. About the middle of it there is a fountain of water, and at the further extremity the village of Caryæ. The plain of the Pheneatæ lies under Caryæ. It is said that the ancient Pheneus was once destroyed by an inundation of water in this

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 13, 14,  
15, 16, 17. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Φάραγξ.

plain, and, as a proof of it, the marks of the height to which the water is said to have ascended, are still to be seen upon the mountains. Five stades distant from Caryæ is Orexis; in this mountain, as well as in another, called Sciathis, there is an opening<sup>a</sup> which receives the water from the plain. The Pheneatæ say that these chasms are artificial, and that Hercules made them when he dwelt in Pheneus with Laonome, the mother of Amphitryon. Hercules also dug a trench through the middle of the plain of the Pheneatæ for the river Olbius, which some of the Arcadians call Aroanius; the length of the canal is fifty stades, and the depth, where it is still entire<sup>b</sup>, is thirty feet: but the river does not now flow through the work of Hercules, having diverged again into its ancient channel. The city of Pheneus is fifty stades distant from the aforesaid chasms in the mountains. The Acropolis of Pheneus is precipitous on every side; and only a small part of it is artificially fortified.”<sup>c</sup>

The Acropolis contained the ruins of a temple of Minerva Tritonia, with a brazen statue of Neptune Hippius, which was reported

<sup>a</sup> Γάραθρον.

<sup>b</sup> ὅσον μὴ πεπτωκός ἐστιν.

<sup>c</sup> ἔστι δὲ σφισιν ἀκρόπολις

ἀπύτομος πανταχόθεν τὰ μὲν

πολλὰ ἔχουσα οὕτω, ὀλίγα δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ὠχυρώσαντο ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας.



to have been dedicated by Ulysses<sup>a</sup>, as well as a temple of Diana Eurippe, no longer existing in the time of Pausanias. On the descent from the citadel was the Stadium, and on a height the sepulchre of Iphicles, brother of Hercules, whom the Pheneatæ honoured as a hero. But their principal deity was Hermes, in whose honour they celebrate games called Hermæa. His temple contained a statue of stone by Eucheir the Athenian; behind the temple stood the sepulchre of Myrtilus, said to have been the son of Hermes. There was also a temple of Ceres Eleusinia, where ceremonies were performed similar to those of Eleusis.

Fifteen stades from the city, at the foot of Cyllene, stood a temple of Ceres Thesmia, and at a like distance on the road leading to Ægeira and Pellene that of Apollo Pythius, said to have been dedicated by Hercules, after the capture

<sup>a</sup> Pausanias did not give credit to this story, because in the time of Ulysses, he says, the art of making brazen statues, such as that of Neptune Hippius, was not yet known. He adds that the first who cast figures of brass were Theodorus and Rhœeus of Samus; and that before their time, brazen statues were made like that of Jupiter

Hypatus, in the Acropolis of Sparta, said to have been the work of Learchus of Rhegium, who was a disciple either of Dipœnus and Scyllis, or of Dædalus himself. This statue was hammered and formed in several pieces, which were fastened together by nails. Pausan. Lacon. c. 17. Aread. e. 14.

of Elis <sup>a</sup>. Its ruins only remained, together with a great altar of white marble, at which the Pheneatæ still sacrificed to Apollo and Diana. Not far from the temple of Apollo, on the bank of the Aroanius, was the heroum of Telamon, and near the fountain CEnoe that of Chalcodon. The borders of the Pheneatæ, on the side of Achaia, were the river Porinas, towards Cyl-lene, and a sanctuary (or statue) of Diana towards the Ægiratis <sup>b</sup>. A little beyond the temple of Apollo Pythius was the road to Mount Crathis; in this mountain were the sources of the river Crathis, which joined the sea near Ægæ, a deserted place in the time of Pausanias, but once an Achaian city. In Mount Crathis there was a temple of Diana Pyronia, whence anciently the Argives carried fire to the Lernæa. In proceeding eastward from Pheneus, the road led over Géronteium, the summit of which mountain was the boundary between the Pheneatæ and Stymphalii. The place called Tricrena, or the Three Sources, was on the boundary to the

<sup>a</sup> Pausanias does not notice any statue in the temple; but in the time of Aristotle there appear to have been more than one. He says that they were called οἱ ὀρεῖχαλκοι, as having been made of brass, which had been brought from

Demonesus, an island near Carthage, and that they were inccribed as follows: Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος Ἥλιν ἐλὼν ἀνέθηκεν. Aristot. de Mirab. Ausc.

<sup>b</sup> πρὸς δὲ τὴν Λίγειράτιν τὸ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμιν.

left of the road from Pheneus to Stymphalus <sup>a</sup>. Not far from Tricrena there was another mountain, called Sepia, which was covered with snow great part of the year. It contained the sepulchre of Æpytus, beyond which was Cyllene, the highest of all the mountains of Arcadia; on the summit there was a temple of Mercury Cyl- lenius in ruins, with a statue of the god, eight feet high, made of the wood of the citron tree <sup>b</sup>. Connected with Cyllene, there was another mountain, called Chelydorea, so called, because Mercury here found a tortoise, of which he made a lyre. It was the boundary of the Pheneatæ and Pellenenses; but the Achæians (i. e. the Pellenenses) possessed the greater part of it. There were two roads, leading westward from Pheneus; that to the left led to Cleitor, —that to the right led to Nonacris, and the water of the Styx. The former followed that work of Hercules which he made for a channel to the river Aroanius. Beyond this the road descended to Lycuria, which was on the borders of the Pheneatæ and Cleitorii; and fifty stades beyond which were the fountains of the Ladon.

The summit of the insulated hill, upon which the remains of Pheneus are found, is a conical

<sup>a</sup> ὄρους ἐστὶν ἄκρα Γερόντειον καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ὁδὸς· Φεναάταις δὲ ὄροι πρὸς Στυμφαλίους τῆς γῆς τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ Γερόντειον· τοῦ Γερόν- τείου δ' ἐν ἀριστερεᾷ διὰ τῆς Φενε-

ατικῆς ὁδεύοντι ὄροι Φενατῶν ἐστι Τρίκρηνα καλούμενα, καὶ εἰσὶν αὐ- τόθι κρήναι τρεῖς. Pausan. Ar- cad. c. 16.

<sup>b</sup> κίτρω.

peak, too small apparently for the acropolis of such an important city, for which the entire insulated hill is not too large ; nor does the peak answer very well to the description “precipitous on all sides, and for the most part fortified by nature,” for it has a regular slope, though a very rugged surface, and is more accessible from the rest of the insulated height, than the height itself is from the plain which surrounds it. The entire hill is in fact defended in many parts of its circumference by precipices, though not sufficiently so to have been safe, without an artificial inclosure, as the height of the precipices above the plain is not very great. I conceive, therefore, that this hill was the Acropolis only of the ancient Pheneus, that the lower town was in a part of the subjacent plain, that in the time of Pausanias Pheneus was in a very ruinous condition, as indeed his account of some of the public buildings indicates ; and that neglect and desolation had been the causes of the Acropolis having been chiefly left to its natural defences.

A modern village stood on the peak which crowned the hill of Pheneus, until within a few years. The lower part of the height is now grown with vineyards, which extend into the plain below it as far as the river ; they cover also a narrow level, which separates the height from the foot of the mountain on the north. On the

lower slope of this mountain stands Foniá, a town of two or three hundred houses, and divided into two parts, called Foniá and the *kalývia*.

The greatest extent of the plain of Foniá is in one direction from Gióza to Foniá, and in the other from the place where I descended into it, coming from the *Stymphalia* to the hill of Lykúria: each of these distances is about seven miles by the road. From the north-eastern end of the plain, a valley branches northward, towards the sources of the *Aroanius*, now called the Foniátiko, or river of Foniá. This valley narrows, and terminates about ten miles from Foniá, at Karyá, or Karyés, near the sources of the river. These are the most northerly tributaries of the *Alpheius*; and thus it appears that this celebrated river has its threemost distant sources in the northern, in the eastern, and in the southern great summits of the *Peloponnesus*; the first in *Achaia*, the second on the borders of *Argolis*, the third on those of *Laconia*. At Karyés the road bifurcates, leading on the right to Tríkkala, over a ridge which protrudes northward from *Cyllene*, answering to the Mount *Chelydorea* of Pausanias, on the eastern side of which was *Pellene*; to the left hand conducting to Zákuli, Vlogoká, and the shore of the Corinthian Gulf, near the site of the ancient *Ægeira*.



The *Porinas* seems to have been a small branch of the upper Foniátiko, which descended into it from Mount *Cyllene*.

In the plain of *Pheneus* the river Foniátiko is joined, a little to the southward of the hill of *Pheneus*, by another stream, which passes between that river and the eastern end of the hill. This stream descends from a narrow valley between the back of the mountain of Foniá and the mountain of Zarúkla. Pausanias speaks of the Olbius and Aroanius as the same river; but, as he applies the identity to the united stream, where it was conducted in the Herculean canal, it may be suspected, that above the junction one of the branches was named Olbius, and the other Aroanius. That the larger, or river from Karyés, was the *Aroanius*, appears from Pausanias having named it, in the way from Pheneus to Pellene and Ægeira; in that case, the western branch was the Olbius.

Gióza seems to occupy exactly the site of *Caryæ*, and the mountains on either side of it are evidently the Orexis and Sciathis of Pausanias. Saetá is perhaps a corruption of the latter name. At least, it is by means of this conjecture only, that we can respectively assign the two ancient names; for at the foot of either mountain there is a chasm, or katavóthra, as Pausanias has remarked. That of Skipézi I



observed at about half-way between Gióza and that part of Mount *Geronteium* which I descended coming from the *Stymphalia* : the other is at the foot of a projecting point of Mount Saetá, opposite to Foniá. There are many canals in the plain, cut towards the former chasm, which receives the river of Gióza, and the waters of the south-eastern part of the plain, so that in seasons of rain there is a considerable discharge of water towards that katavóthra, while the Foniátiko, or *Aroanius*, composed of the two united rivers from the mountains northward of *Pheneus*, flows in a single body to the katavóthra of Mount Saetá, and forms an inundation around it, which in summer is never entirely absorbed. The river itself passes under the mountain, and its emissary could have been no other than the sources of the *Ladon*, between Lykúria and Pangráti, as Pausanias had been informed, but which he had not verified, as he tells us, by personal observation. The village of Lykúria, being situated near the summit of the ridge which falls north-eastward to the lake of *Pheneus*, and on the opposite face to the *Cleitorean Aroanius*, stands near the natural boundary of the *Pheneatice* and *Cleitorea* ; and thus corresponds, as well in position as it does in name, to the *Lycuria* of Pausanias. Its distance, however, as I have already remarked, from the fountains of

the *Ladon*, is much less than the fifty stades of Pausanias, as, on the other hand, the sixty stades which he assigns for the interval between the sources and Cleitor, is rather less than the reality<sup>a</sup>. I am ignorant where the other stream re-appears which enters the eastern Pheneatic *zerethra* in Mount *Orexis*, or, in modern words, the *katavóthra* of Skepézi; its direction appears to be towards the lake of *Stymphalus*, in which case a part of the waters of the *Pheneatic* plain flows to the *Argolic* Gulf, and a part to the western coast of the *Peloponnesus*.

Strabo<sup>b</sup> is more particular than Pausanias on the subject of the principal river of the Pheneatice and its peculiarities. As he speaks in the same passage of the similar phenomena of the *Stymphalia*, I shall here insert the whole of it. "The extraordinary circumstances," says the geographer, "attending the *Alpheius* and *Eurotas* have already been stated, as well as those relating to the *Erasinus*, which now flows from the lake *Stymphalis* into the *Argeia*, but which formerly had no outlet, because its subterraneous channels (*τὰ βέρεθρα*), which the *Arcadians* call *ζέρεθρα*, then afforded no passage to the waters; so that the city of the *Stymphalii*, which is now fifty

<sup>a</sup> See Chapter XVII.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo, p. 389.

stades distant from the lake, was then situated upon its margin. The contrary happened to the Ladon, the current of which formerly ceased, in consequence of the obstruction of its sources, an earthquake having caused the subterraneous channel in the Pheneatice to collapse <sup>a</sup>.

“ This is one account,” adds the geographer; “ but, according to Eratosthenes, the river Anias [Aroanius ?] forms a lake before the city of Pheneus, where it is received into certain narrow channels [ἰσθμοὺς] called ζέρεθρα : these having become obstructed, the water inundated the plain ; when they were again opened, the water, falling into the Ladon and Alpheius, overflowed their banks so as to submerge the sacred land at Olympia, while the lake of Pheneus was drained. Eratosthenes relates also, that the Erasinus, flowing near Stymphalus, there passes under a mountain, and appears again in the Argeia ; whence it happened, that when Iphicrates was besieging Stymphalus without success, he attempted to obstruct the subterraneous drain by filling it with a great number of sponges, but was diverted from proceeding with his intention by a signal from heaven.” <sup>b</sup>

It seems evident that the word πευτήκοντα,

<sup>a</sup> συμπεσόντα τὰ περὶ Φενεὸν ζέρεθρα.

<sup>b</sup> διοσημίας γενομένης.

“fifty”, in the preceding passage, is an error of the text for πέντε, “five”, the latter being about the real number of stades between the site of Stymphalus and the margin of the lake, on an average of the seasons.

The chasms of the Pheneatice and the subterraneous course of the river of Pheneus are alluded to by some other authors<sup>a</sup>. Pliny, although he was informed of the origin of the Ladon in the lake of Pheneus<sup>b</sup>, seems to have totally mistaken the nature of the accident which happened to the plain; for he adduces Pheneus as an example, that waters are sometimes absorbed by earthquakes, and adds, that this phenomenon occurred five times at Pheneus<sup>c</sup>. It would appear from Plutarch, that the inundation of the Pheneatice was not of very ancient date; for he ridicules the idea, that Apollo should have obstructed the channel of the river of Pheneus because Hercules, *a thousand years* before, had stolen the prophetic tripod from Delphi and carried it to Pheneus<sup>d</sup>,—a remark which seems to render the story of the submer-

<sup>a</sup> Theophrast. Hist. Plant. 1. 3. c. 1.—Diodor. 1. 15. c. 49.

<sup>b</sup> Ladon e paludibus Phenei, Erymanthus e monte ejusdem nominis in Alpheum defluentes.—Plin. Hist. Nat. 1. 4. c. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Terræ motus profundunt sorbentque aquas, sicut circa Pheneum Arcadiæ quinquies accidisse constat.—Plin. Hist. Nat. 1. 31. c. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. de Serâ Numinum Vindictâ.

sion of the plain, to any great extent at least, extremely doubtful, since the exact date of such a calamity ought to have been known if it was so recent as the words of Plutarch indicate.

The great mountain on the west of Foniá, which trends westward to join the southern end of Mount Khelmós, is called here, as on its opposite side, Turtována. A pointed summit connected with it, which rises above the western end of the plain of Foniá, is named Triandafyliá. Mount Turtována descends into the plain of Foniá in a projecting ridge, which is opposed to that of Mount Saetá, and hides all the western end of the plain from the village of Foniá. Each of these two projections terminates below in precipitous rocks or steep rocky slopes, along which, at a height of about fifty feet above the level of the plain, there is a line seeming to mark the depth of water when all this plain was a lake, all below the mark being of a lighter colour than the rest of the mountain. Pausanias, who observed this line on the rocks, considered it as a proof of the inundation having once reached to that height, and the tradition is still preserved: such a popular opinion, indeed, is a natural consequence of the appearances on the rocks, whatever may have been the real cause of that phenomenon. Nor



can it be doubted, that the obstruction of the *katavóthra* would at any time be followed by a great inundation. We know that a similar calamity afflicted the country adjacent to the lake *Copais*, in *Bœotia*, where still exist remains of the great works which were undertaken to remedy the evil,—works, however, which would have been impracticable at the *Pheneatic zerethra*, on account of the greater height of the mountain above the subterraneous channel. So striking is the line of discolouration on the rocks of the two mountains *Triandafyliá* and *Saetá*, especially as viewed from the ridge of *Kastaniá*, (*Geronteium*,) that my janissary, as we descended yesterday from *Kastaniá*, immediately accounted for the appearance of the rocks exactly in the same manner as Pausanias and the modern *Foniátes*, although he had never seen the place before or heard the story; he supposed that the lake had been drained off not long ago. The natives relate the following tale concerning this occurrence: they say, that two devils possessed the lake, one of whom resided near *Gióza*, the other towards *Lykúria*. These demons, as was to be expected of such characters, often quarrelled, and at length a terrible conflict occurred between them at a place near the top of Mount *Saetá*. The one who lived



on the western side of the lake, and was the more cunning devil of the two, devised a plan of pelting his adversary with balls made of the fat of oxen, which, when they came in contact with the devil's skin, caught fire and annoyed him so terribly, that he was seized with a panic, and could find no way of escape but through the mountain, leaving a passage by which the waters flowed off and left the plain dry. It is curious, that according to an ancient Greek mythologist<sup>a</sup>, Pluto himself was the demon who made his exit in this manner; not, however, under the disgraceful circumstances of the modern fable, but in company with his fair prize Proserpine, whom he carried through the chasms as the shortest road to his infernal kingdom.

Although it is highly probable, that, in a country so subject to earthquakes as Greece, the accident mentioned by Eratosthenes really took place, and may have occurred perhaps more than once, and although nothing can be more natural than that the shaded line on the rocks above the lake should have given rise to the vulgar belief of its having once covered the whole Pheneatic plain, it is impossible to agree with Pausanias in adducing those marks as a proof of such a submersion; since it is certain, that if

<sup>a</sup> Conon. Narrat. 15.

we take into account the power of evaporation, all the waters which flow into the Pheneatic basin would be insufficient to raise the water to half the height of the discoloured line. Moreover, if the line be assumed as a proof of the ancient depth of water, we must also conceive that depth to have lasted so long, that an exposure to the air for two or three thousand years has not been able to obliterate the marks of the antecedent submersion. But, in fact, such a regular line of partial discolouration may be remarked on the borders of many lakes which are surrounded by precipitous rocks ; and I have generally observed, that it is at a greater height than one can believe the waters ever to have attained. I conceive, therefore, that the appearance is caused entirely by evaporation, and that the lower parts of the rocks being constantly moistened, while the upper are in a state of comparative dryness, a difference of colour is, in process of time, the consequence.

The mountain of Zarúkhla, so called from a village on the northern side of it, rises behind the mountain of Foniá, with a double peak, to a great height. I have little doubt, that it is the ancient Mount Crathis. It is separated from, or rather connected with, Mount Turtována by a dhiásylo, through which there is a road by

Kynigú to Pladitéri, and thence to Kalávryta. Another dhiásylo, which connects Turtována with Saetá, has on its southern face Lykúria, and an hour below it, as I have before stated, the emissory of the lake of Foniá, anciently called the sources of the Ladon. The latter dhiásylo forms the natural communication from the Pheneatice into the Cleitoria, as Mount Geronteium does into the Stymphalia, and the pass of Caryæ into the Orchomenia. The north-eastern side of the plain of Pheneus is bounded by Mount Zýria, the ancient Cyllene, which, farther north, is separated only by the valley of the Aroanius from Mount Crathis. Cyllene is connected southward by means of the lower ridge of Geronteium, now the dhiásylo of Kastaniá, with Mount Orexis, now called Skipézi. Between Geronteium and the highest part of Cyllene is the summit which was anciently named Sepia.

The *Pheneatic* plain is, at the present season, still very marshy. With the exception of the vineyards around Foniá, it is covered entirely with fields of wheat or barley just springing up, so tardy is vegetation in this elevated valley. On the left bank of the *Aroanius*, for a considerable distance along the middle of the plain, are still traced the remains of the work of Hercules described by Pausanias, but which

has now more the appearance of having been a mound erected to prevent the Aroanius from inundating the southern and eastern side of the plain, than an artificial channel for the river, as Pausanias shews it to have been originally. It is very possible that when the canal became damaged and useless, as it already was in the time of the Greek traveller, it may have been converted to the purpose of an embankment similar to those of which there are remains in several of the valleys and plains of Greece which were subject to inundation. I saw some traces of one at the western end of the lake of *Stymphalus*, but that of the plain of *Pheneus* appears to have been a much greater work, and corresponds to the magnitude indicated in the description of Pausanias. That it was extremely ancient, is proved by the tradition which ascribed it to Hercules. In truth, perhaps, it was an undertaking of one of the kings of Arcadia, some of whom resided at Pheneus, as we learn from the abstract of the history of Arcadia in Pausanias, as well as from Virgil<sup>a</sup>, who supposed Pheneus to have been the dwelling place of Evander, and represents Anchises as visiting him there. It is very natural that Pheneus should have

<sup>a</sup> *Æn.* l. 8. v. 165.

been the seat of government in times of insecurity and violence, or when the whole of Arcadia was under a royal head. Its valley is the natural citadel of that province, being either surrounded by other valleys similarly encircled with mountains, to such a degree as to discharge their waters through zerethra, or by districts of equal strength and defensibility, such as those of Nonacris, Cynætha, and Cleitor in Arcadia, and those of Ægeira and Pellene in Achaia.

Although the Alpheius and the rivers of Pheneus and Stymphalus furnish the most remarkable instances of Arcadian zerethra, and have therefore been noticed by the ancient authors, I am rather surprised, after having seen so many other examples of them in the interior of the Peloponnesus, that they have not been more frequently adverted to in ancient history. Subterraneous rivers in limestone ridges are found in many other countries, but in none, that I ever heard of, are they so frequently met with as in this peninsula. Aristotle and Diodorus are the only authors who prepare us for finding the Peloponnesus thus singularly constructed by nature. The information of the former seems to have been correct as to the facts, though some of his expressions are not very philosophical. He adduces in proof of the supposition that



fountains are supplied from deposits of water in the bosom of the earth, the example of those subterraneous rivers which are found in many parts of the world, but particularly in Arcadia, where they are caused (he adds) by the mountains, which, leaving no issue for the waters to flow towards the sea above ground, force them to find a passage below<sup>a</sup>. Diodorus remarks, that the destruction of Helice and Bura by an earthquake, was ascribed to the anger of Neptune, and that in proof of this belief, it was alleged that Neptune has power over earthquakes and inundations; that the Peloponnesus was his ancient dwelling-place, and that all its cities venerated him beyond any of the other gods; moreover, that in Peloponnesus there are vast hollows in the depths of the earth, and great collections of flowing waters in them<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> ὅτι δ' εἰς τοιαῦται φάραγες καὶ διαστάσεις τῆς γῆς, δηλοῦσιν οἱ καταπινόμενοι τῶν ποταμῶν συμβαίνει καὶ τοῦτο πολλαχού τῆς γῆς· οἷον τῆς μὲν Πελοποννήσου τὰ πλεῖστα τοιαῦτα περὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ἐστίν· αἴτιον δὲ διὰ τὸ ὀρεῖνῃν οὔσαν μὴ ἔχειν ἐκροὰς ἐκ τῶν κοιλιῶν ἐς θάλασσαν· πληροῦμένοι γὰρ οἱ τόποι καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐκρυσιν, αὐτοὶ εὗρισκονται τὴν δίοδον εἰς θάλασσαν, ἀποστραφέντων τοῦ ἀνωθεν ἐπιόντος ὕδατος· περὶ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα μικρὰ τοιαῦτα παντελῶς ἐστὶ γιγ-

νόμενα, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τὴν Καύκασον λίμνην ἦν καλοῦσι οἱ ἐκεῖ θάλασσαν, &c. Aristot. Meteor. l. 1. c. 13. The subterraneous outlets of the rivers of Greece were trifling, he says, compared to those of the Caspian Sea, which he supposed to have a discharge under ground to Coraxi in Pontus.

<sup>b</sup> τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατὰ βάθους ἔχειν μεγάλα κοιλάματα καὶ συστάσεις ὑδάτων ναματιαίων μεγάλαις. Diodor. l. 15. c. 49.



The historian then specifies the instances of the rivers of Pheneus and Stymphalus, as manifestly flowing under ground <sup>a</sup>.

Though I have already noticed all the Peloponnesian zerethra with which I am acquainted, I shall here recapitulate them. The valleys of Arcadia which have no other discharge for the running waters, are those of Tegea, Mantinea, Asea or Eutæa, Orchomenus or Caphyæ, Alea, Stymphalus, and Pheneus. In the Tegeatice, there are three zerethra; two of the streams emerge in the vale of Asea, the third in the sea on the coast of the Argeia. In the Asæa there is one, or possibly two zerethra, the emissary of one of them is at Pegæ in the Megalopolitan valley; that of the other (but this is doubtful) is at the source of the Eurotas, near Belemina. In the Mantinice there is one, of which the emissary is uncertain, — perhaps at Helisson. The river of Orchomenus, which enters the zerethra of Caphyæ, reappears at Rheunus, near the modern Tara, and joins the Ladon. Of the zerethra in the vale of Alea, near the modern Skotiní, the emissary is probably the fountain near Orchomenus, anciently called Teneiæ. The river which enters the zerethra of Stymphalus <sup>b</sup>, reappears near Argos. In the Pheneatice there

<sup>a</sup> Φανεγούς ῥέοντας ὑπὸ γῆν.

<sup>b</sup> It will hereafter appear

that the fountain of Stymphalus is probably itself only

are two zerethra, one conducts the Aroanius to the sources of the Ladon below Lycuria, the emissory of the other is unknown to me. I have little doubt that several other smaller zerethra<sup>a</sup> would be found upon a more minute examination of the country, and that by attending to the *osteology* of the peninsula, or the course and construction of the ridges, the subterraneous courses and exits of those which are now uncertain might be ascertained.

April 2.—Plutarch twice mentions a fortified place called Penteleium in conjunction with Pheneus<sup>b</sup>. I am informed of the existence of some remains at Roméiko Tharsó<sup>c</sup>, in the vale of the *Pheneatic Aroanius* in the way to Karyés: this possibly may have been the position of Penteleium. Tharsó, written *Tapσòς*, is mentioned by Chalcocondylas as one of the places taken by Mahomet the Second in the campaign of 1458.

This morning, at 8.20, I quit Foniá in search of *Nonacris* and the *Styx*: hoping to be able to cross from thence to Tríkkala. I send my baggage to Karyá, which is described to me as lying nearly midway in a line

an emissory of the katavóthra of the valley of Késari.

<sup>a</sup> I alluded to one of these, in the upper Orchomenian

plain, on the 31st of March.

<sup>b</sup> In Arat. et in Cleomen.

<sup>c</sup> Ῥωμαϊκὸς Θαρσὸς.

between the position of *Nonacris* and *Tríkala*. Having descended into the plain in the direction of Mount *Zýria*, we cross, at 8.38, the branch of the *Foniátiko* which originates in the mountain behind *Foniá*. At 9, having halted a quarter of an hour and sent the baggage to *Karyá*, I follow up the valley of the stream just mentioned, leaving the monastery of *Dhoxá* on the mountain to our left; again cross and recross the river, and then begin to ascend the mountain of *Zarúkhla*, which is connected westward with *Khelmós*. The whole ascent is clothed with trees, consisting in the lower part of large firs, and in the upper of pines, mixed with firs. The highest points of the mountain remain to our left. Towards the *dhiásylo*, or summit, at which we arrive at 10.37, there is some snow on the ground, which is continued for a much greater distance down the northern slope. Here are several torrents, which unite at the bottom and form a river called *Klukiniátiko*, or *Akráta*; the former name is derived from the district of *Klukínes* on its banks; the latter, which is more commonly applied to the part of the river below *Klukínes*, furnishes a presumption that the river is the ancient *Crathis*, and consequently that the mountain we are crossing is Mount *Crathis*; for *Pausanias* informs us, that the sources of

the Crathis were in a mountain of the same name. I have thus a good clue to the Styx, which was a branch of the river Crathis. After having descended by a steep declivity and very difficult road, we arrive at the river at 11, and then winding along the bed of it or over a part of its lofty banks, we arrive, at 11.35, at Zarúkhla <sup>a</sup>, which is dispersed on the lowest slopes of the mountain on either side of the stream, and contains about 200 families. Our route continues to follow the bed of the river for another half hour, when we arrive under the large village of Aía Varvára <sup>b</sup>, situated on the side of the mountain above the right bank of the river. From either side of the ravine a high mountain now rises of the most steep and barren description, covered towards the summit with snow: these are some of the counterforts of the great northern chain of the Peloponnesus, which extends from west to east, and of which Voidhiá, 'Olonos, Khelmós, and Zýria, are the principal summits. Its roots extend to the *Achaian* coast. Opposite Santa Barbara we ascend the mountain on the left bank of the *Crathis* by a very difficult road, in many parts cut up by the torrents, and at 1 arrive at Solos, situated on the right side of the ravine of a stream coming directly from the great summit of Khelmós, and

<sup>a</sup> Ζαρούχλα.

<sup>b</sup> Ἀγία Βαρβάρα.

joining the *Crathis* a little below the village. On a height, in the bottom of the ravine below Solos, is Mesorúghi<sup>a</sup>, and on the side of the opposite mountain Perstéra, all three of them dispersed over a large space of ground. These villages are the Klukínes<sup>b</sup>, more particularly so called, though the name is often applied also to those on the upper part of the *Crathis*, viz. Zarúkhla, Aía Varvára, Vunáki, and another smaller between Vunáki and Solos. The inhabitants of Solos, Mesorúghi, and Perstéra, are all masons, and are absent from November to Easter at their work in the large towns of the Moréa or Rúmeli. So completely is this exemplified at present, that the only person I can find to send to Karyá for my baggage (having found my intended route too difficult) is a gipsy blacksmith, he being the only man in the town, except two or three priests and the schoolmaster. Nevertheless I am very civilly received and lodged at the house of the Proestós Khristódhulos, whose wife does the honours, the president himself being absent on his affairs at Kalávryta, to which vilayéti the Klukínes belong. It rarely happens that a Turk ever enters these retired valleys, or rather ravines, for the hills rise so steeply on either side of the river and its

<sup>a</sup> Μεσορούγι, middle street.

<sup>b</sup> Κλουκίνοις.



branches, that the only cultivation is in terraces on the slopes. The primates, whenever it is necessary, go to Kalávryta to transact their business with the Turkish authorities. Some of the inhabitants of Aía Varvára and Zarúkhla find agricultural employment in the maritime plain of Akráta, or in that of Foniá. In the former, Aía Varvára possesses some vineyards in the plain. All the other inhabitants of the banks of the *Crathis* are shopkeepers or artisans in the towns of Greece. One of the villages consists almost entirely of coopers.

Above and around Solos there is a wood of chestnuts. The climate is colder than that of Foniá, and not the smallest appearance of spring is yet to be seen. The mountains exhibit a sublime but dismal scene. Their barren sides are furrowed by numberless torrents, contributing to form the rapid muddy stream which roars over the rocks below Solos. Above the Klukínes this torrent descends rapidly through a deep rocky glen, at the upper extremity of which the eastern part of the great summit of Khelmós terminates in an immense precipice. Two slender cascades of water fall perpendicularly over the precipice, and, after winding for some distance among a labyrinth of rocks, unite to form the torrent, which, after passing the Klukínes, joins the river Akráta. The



people of Solos say, that it is impossible to arrive at the water at the foot of the precipice, which is true at present on account of the snow, and may possibly be equally so in summer by reason of the nature of the ground. I have no doubt that the cascade is the κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ <sup>a</sup>, or *down-distilling* water of Styx,—the Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα <sup>b</sup>, or *lofty* torrents of Styx, which Homer has by these epithets more correctly described than any subsequent author, probably because no other, except Pausanias, had ever seen the place. Hesiod, nevertheless, in the midst of his poetical allusions to Styx, whom he personifies as an infernal deity, has given a correct idea of the reality in describing the water upon which the oath of the gods was taken. He represents it as a cold perennial stream falling from a lofty rock and passing through a very rugged place :

——— ὕδωρ  
 Ψυχρὸν ὃ τ' ἐκ πέτρης καταλείβεται ἡλιθάτοιο  
 Ὑψηλῆς <sup>c</sup>. . . . .  
 Στυγὸς ἄφθιτον ὕδωρ  
 Ὡγίγιον, τὸ δ' ἴησι καταστυφέλου διὰ χάρου <sup>d</sup>.

The description of Herodotus <sup>e</sup> does not appear to be that of an autoptes. When Cleomenes,

<sup>a</sup> Il. O. v. 37.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. v. 805.

<sup>b</sup> Il. O. v. 369.

<sup>e</sup> Herodot. l. 6. c. 74.

<sup>c</sup> Hesiod. Theog. v. 785.

king of Sparta, wished to unite the Arcadians in his cause, he endeavoured to persuade the chief men of Arcadia <sup>a</sup> to assemble at Nonacris, and swear by the Styx that they would follow and assist him. The historian then tells us, that Nonacris was a city of Arcadia near Pheneus, and the Styx a source <sup>b</sup> in that city <sup>c</sup>; that not much water was apparent, and that it dropt upon a rugged place which was surrounded by a wall <sup>d</sup>.

Pausanias is the only one of the later writers who had a correct idea of the Styx. Theophrastus, as quoted by Antigonus Carystius <sup>e</sup>, describes it as dropping from a *small* rock <sup>f</sup> in Pheneus <sup>g</sup>. He adds, that those who wished to take the water made use of sponges, because it destroyed all kinds of vessels except those of horn <sup>h</sup>; and that all persons who tasted of the water died.

The reputed poisonous quality of the Stygian water, as well as the other fables told of it by the later Greeks, arose very naturally, among a superstitious people, from its inaccessible position and the veneration in which, during so many

<sup>a</sup> τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοῦς προεστῶ-  
τας.

<sup>b</sup> πηγὴ.

<sup>c</sup> ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει.

<sup>d</sup> ὅδωρ ὀλίγον φαινόμενον ἐκ  
πέτρης στάζει ἐς ἄγκος, τὸ δὲ ἄγ-

κος αἱμασιῆς τις περιθέει κύκλος.

<sup>e</sup> Antig. Caryst. c. 174.

<sup>f</sup> ἐκ τινὸς πετριδίου.

<sup>g</sup> ἐν Φοινίῳ.

<sup>h</sup> πλὴν τῶν κερατίνων.

centuries, it had been held. Whether Homer, in applying the adjective *ἀάατον*<sup>a</sup> to the Styx, referred to its sanctity or its destructive powers, there is some difficulty in deciding; though Strabo, by describing it as a slender stream of pernicious water<sup>b</sup>, may be supposed to have interpreted Homer's epithet in the latter sense, for he generally had in view the Homeric topography. However this may be, it is certain, that before the age of Alexander the Great, the reputation of the deleterious effects of the water was well established; for after his death a report prevailed, that he had been poisoned by the water of the Styx<sup>c</sup>; and though Plutarch only mentions the story to contradict it, he seems to have afforded ample credence to the fables related of the water, of which he attributes the poisonous and destructive effects to its coldness and penetrating quality<sup>d</sup>, describing it as a slender thread of water of extreme coldness, or (in another passage) as a fine dew of

<sup>a</sup> Ἀγρεῖ νῦν μοι ὁμοσσον ἀάατον Στυγὸς ὕδαρ.—Il. Ξ. v. 271.

<sup>b</sup> λιβάδιον ὀλεθρίου ὕδατος.—Strabo, p. 389.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. in Alexand. — Pausan. Arcad. c. 18. — Arrian. l. 7. c. 27. Arrian does not name the Styx; but, in saying that the poison was

administered in the hoof of a mule, he shews, that the rumour to which he alludes was the same as that mentioned by Plutarch and Pausanias.

<sup>d</sup> ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος καὶ δριμύτητος.

an icy temperature, distilling from a rock at Nonacris, where it was collected in the hoof of an ass<sup>a</sup>,—the only kind of vessel, he adds, which it did not either dissolve or break. An epigram, still extant, which was affixed to a vessel of horn dedicated by Alexander in the temple of Delphi, signifies that the cup had been found to resist the water of the Styx<sup>b</sup>. It was said to have been a present from Sopatrus, or Antipater, to Alexander, and was, perhaps, the origin of the rumour of Alexander having been poisoned by the water of Styx.

It was natural enough that some difference of opinion should prevail as to the substance which had the virtue of resisting this terrible fluid, seeing that most certainly the experiment had never been fairly made. Plutarch, as we have just stated, gives his testimony in favour of the hoof of the ass. According to Pliny<sup>c</sup>, it was

<sup>a</sup> τὸ δὲ φάρμακον ὕδωρ εἶναι  
ψυχρὸν καὶ παγετώδες ἀπὸ πέτρας  
τινὸς ἐν Νωνακρίδι οὐσης, ἣν ὥσπερ  
δρόσον λεπτὴν ἀναλαμβάνοντες,  
εἰς ὄνου χυλὸν ἀποτίθενται.—  
Plutarch. in Alexand.

Στυγὸς ὕδωρ καλοῦσιν ἐκ πέτρας  
γλίσχρως συλλεϊδόμενον, οὕτως  
ψυχρὸν ὥστε μηδὲν ἀγγεῖον ἄλλο,  
μόνην δὲ ὑπὸ πλὴν ὄνου στέγειν· τὰ δ'  
ἄλλα διακύπτει καὶ ῥήγνυσιν.—  
Plutarch. de Primo Frigido.

<sup>b</sup> Σοὶ τὸδ' Ἀλέξανδρος Μακεδὼν κέρας ἀνθετο Παίαν

Κάνθωνο; Σκυθικοῦ χρῆμα τι δαιμόνιον

Ὁ Στυγὸς ἀχράντῳ Λουσίῃδος οὐκ ἰδαμάσθη

Ῥεύματι, Γαστάξε δ' ὕδατος ἠνέρεν.—Ælian. de Nat.

Anim. l. 10. c. 40. — Porphy. ap. I. Stob. Ecl. l. 1. c. 52.  
§ 48.

<sup>c</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 16.

the hoof of a female mule. Vitruvius<sup>a</sup> seems to admit that of a mule of either gender. By Theophrastus the virtue was confined to vessels of horn, in which he is supported by another ancient author<sup>b</sup>. It would appear, however, from Philo of Heracleia, Ælian, and the epigram at Delphi, that even among horns there was but one kind capable of resisting the Stygian water, and that not very easily procured, being the *horn* of a Scythian *ass*<sup>c</sup>.

The following is the passage of Pausanias relating to the Styx<sup>d</sup>:—"In travelling westward from Pheneus, there is a road on the left leading to the city Cleitor, and on the right to Nonacris and the water of the Styx. Nonacris was formerly a small town of the Arcadians, which received its name from a daughter of Lycaon. Its ruins only remain, and even of these, little is now to be seen. Not far from thence a precipice rises higher than any that I have ever seen, over which falls a stream of water<sup>e</sup>, by the Greeks called Styx. This water descends upon a high rock, and, after having passed

<sup>a</sup> Vitruv. l. 8. c. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Callimachus Cyrenæus ap. Porphyr. in Stob. Ecl. l. 1. c. 52. §. 47.

<sup>c</sup> Philo Heracl. ap. Por-

phyr. in Stob. Ecl. l. 1. c. 52. §. 48.—Ælian. l. 10. c. 40.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 17, 18.

<sup>e</sup> κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ στάζει.

through the rock, flows to the Crathis<sup>a</sup>. It is mortal both to man and beast, which was first discovered by its effect upon goats. Another wonderful property attached to the water of Styx is, that vessels, whether of glass or crystal, or murrhine, or earthen, or of stone, are broken by this water ; and that vessels of horn, bone, iron, brass, lead, tin, silver, electrum, and even of gold, are dissolved by it. But it cannot injure the hoof of the horse : this material alone is not destroyed by the water. Whether it was by this water that Alexander son of Philip was poisoned, I have not been able to discover, but certainly I have heard so. Above Nona-cris are the mountains called Aroania, of which the greater part belong to the Pheneatæ ; but Lusi is within the bounds of the Cleitorii. Lusi is said formerly to have been a city ; but not even its ruins are now to be seen.”

I can find no person at Solos, not even the didascalus, who is scholar enough to be sensible that he is living on the banks of the Styx ; but, what is very curious, though ignorant in this respect, they preserve the old notion, that the water is unwholesome, and relate nearly the same

<sup>a</sup> τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημενοῦ  
τοῦ παρὰ τὴν Νῶνακριν στάζον  
ἐμπίπτει μὲν πρῶτον ἐς πέτρην

ὑψηλὴν, διεξελθὼν δὲ διὰ τῆς πέ-  
τρας ἐς τὸν Κραῖθιν ποταμὸν κάτ-  
εστιν.



story concerning it as Pausanias, saying that no vessel will hold the water; which, indeed, they may very safely affirm, as well as all the other fables repeated by the ancients, if it is inaccessible, as they assert. They seem also, equally with the ancients, to have neglected the consideration, that, if the Styx is a pernicious water, the stream below Solos ought to partake of the same quality, which has not been pretended either by ancients or moderns. The cascade is called τὰ Μαυρα-νέρια<sup>a</sup>, and sometimes τὰ Δρακο-νέρια<sup>b</sup>. In summer, when the stream is scanty and the wind high, they describe the cascade as blown about like a torrent from a mill.

The superstitious respect in which the present inhabitants hold the Styx is probably the effect of tradition, supported by the causes which had originally produced the same influence on their still more superstitious ancestors,—such as the wildness of the surrounding scenery, the singularity of the waterfall, (which, though it might not obtain much fame in the Alps, is higher than any other in Greece,) and its inaccessible position. In a rude state of society, such situations are often the fabled residence of the personified objects of worship, whose supposed presence,

<sup>a</sup> The Black Waters.

<sup>b</sup> The Terrible Waters.

added to the terrors of the scene, would render an oath there taken more solemn, and its obligation more binding. We learn from Herodotus, in the passage already cited, that, five centuries before our æra, the Arcadians, who were a people preserving their origin and manners more than any other in Greece, were accustomed to swear by Styx, and to meet at Nona-cris for that purpose. The practice seems at that time to have been falling into disuse, for this is the only instance of it occurring in history; but the ancient Arcadian custom had probably given a celebrity to the place throughout Greece, and had often induced persons to repair thither from other parts of the country to give solemnity to their adjurations; whence it was natural that, in process of time, the poets should feign, that to swear by the Styx was an oath inviolable by the gods themselves. It was very natural also, under these circumstances, that when the Greeks adopted the fables of Egyptian origin, concerning the infernal kingdom, they should have applied the name of Styx to its imaginary river.

The Mavra-néria are nearly in the road across Khelmós from Klukínes to Sudhená, and about two miles from Solos. The vicinity of the *Styx* to *Lusi*, which, as I have already remarked, was at or near Sudhená, is

shewn by the epigram already cited, in which the epithet of Luseis is attached to Styx. There is another fountain of some modern celebrity on the opposite face of Mount Khelmós towards Sudhená, which flows into the plain below that village, and is one of the sources of the river of Karnési, which joins the *Cleitor*. This spring is not very plentiful, nor do I learn that there is any cascade, but it is useful as furnishing water to the cattle which feed on the mountain in the summer; it is called Πουλιού Βρύσι, (the Bird's Fountain,) and the Klukiniotes imagine that if a person, ill with a dangerous malady, drinks it, he speedily recovers or dies.

As so little remained of Nonacris in the time of Pausanias, it is not surprising that we find nothing of it now. It may, perhaps, have stood at Mesorúghi, which seems the most convenient position in the neighbourhood for a town. Not long since there was found in the bed of the river near that village, a small white marble figure, wanting the legs; and when complete, about four or five inches high. It is now in the possession of the son of Khristódhulos, whom I could not prevail upon to part with it. The head is perfect, the hair combed back, and on the top of the head there is something

resembling the basket of the (so called) Eleusinian Ceres, at Cambridge, the whole in the rudest style possible, and certainly very ancient. It was probably washed down by the rains from the site of Nonacris, whether that position was near Solos, or higher up the valley. I am much disappointed at being prevented from exploring any farther in that direction by the snow, which is reported to be still two *bouis* deep near the Dhrakonéria. There is, indeed, no travelling freely in Arcadia until the latter end of May, such is the rudeness of the climate in the early spring. The best method for a person who has time perfectly at his command, is to reserve the mountainous parts of the country for the season when the heats of summer render the plains at first disagreeable and afterwards dangerous. That soft season, “when the plane whispers to the elm”,<sup>a</sup> is as short as it is delightful in the lower regions of Greece, but lingers on the mountains through a great part of the summer. To explore the mountainous districts, however, would require a protracted residence, which, in many of them, is not easy in the present state of Greece; the

<sup>a</sup> Ἦρος ἐν ὥρᾳ χαίρων, ὅποτεν πλάτανος πτελίᾳ ψιθυρίζει.

Aristoph. Nubes, v. 1004.

only method, therefore, is to traverse them in different directions as the opportunities offer, and this cannot be done without frequent exposure to heat, malaria, and fatigue in the plains, the combined effects of which, on our northern constitutions, are in the mildest form an autumnal intermittent, which often lasts the whole winter. In short, no time is ultimately gained by exertion in the four months of summer. On the other hand, if the traveller were to confine himself to the season which is both safe and agreeable, his objects would never be attained: there is no alternative, therefore, but to travel during a part of the winter, which can hardly be said to conclude, even in the plains of Greece, before the vernal equinox. The portion of the year which I have found, after some experience, to be the best, is from the middle of February to the middle of June, and from the middle of October to the middle of December. In the heat of summer the best mode of insuring health is to select a residence on the sea-shore, in a situation free from marshy exhalations, and well ventilated by the Etesian breezes, or, what is still better, in some village in the highest inhabited parts of the mountains. With these precautions, and great temperance, a man has a fair chance of being able to travel for six months of the year with-

out any intermission, except that of a few short intervals, which are equally necessary for repose, and for the acquisition or arrangement of his information.

April 3. — From Klukínes to Megaspílio. I set out at 8, and, crossing the ravine of the *Styx*, arrive in half an hour at Perstéra. From this side I have a better view of Mount Khelmós and the cascade. In the middle height of the mountain, a slender stream of water falls over a precipice of about five hundred feet. Beyond Perstéra we enter the great ravine of the Akráta, or *Crathis*, and pass along the left side of it. Here we meet not less than one hundred women, each bearing on her back a great bundle of wood, equal to half the load of an ass. In these, as well as many other of the mountainous parts of Greece, agriculture and out-door labour of every kind are added to the domestic duties of the women; the men, for the most part, being employed with their horses as carriers<sup>a</sup>, or in tending the flocks<sup>b</sup>, or residing abroad as artizans and traders. It seldom happens, however, that the cultivated land of such places is extensive, nor are the women

<sup>a</sup> ἀγωγιάταις.

<sup>b</sup> Heraclides Ponticus remarks of one of the most lofty and rugged districts in Epirus, that “the women there

till the ground, while the men tend the flocks.” — Ἐν τῇ Ἀθαμάνων χώρᾳ γεωργοῦσι μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες, νιμούσι δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες.



often subjected to such severe toil as that of the wood-carriers whom we meet : it happens, in the present instance, in consequence of a want of beasts of burthen, to which I see that these poor women are obliged still more to assimilate themselves in the steepest parts of the route, by applying their hands to the ground, and becoming quadrupeds over a considerable space of ascent. The firewood which they are carrying, they had previously cut on the top of a steep mountain on the left of our road. The wood is chiefly of lentisk and ilex. I observed that most of the women were spinning as they walked, crouching under their burthens. I did not see one among them with features tolerably regular. The men are better looking, and are a strong, healthy, and active race. An old man of Solos, whom I take as a guide, walks so fast that my horse can hardly keep pace with him. He has his tufék with him, and has lived for the last month, being Lent, upon scarcely any thing but bread and onions. In time of fast, all the Greeks, who are under the necessity of working, live as hard a life as any people in the world. It has, of course, an effect on their appearance if not upon their health, for I observed in Tzakoniá, where the men and women are both remarked for their beauty, and where some of the men, in particular, are models in

form, that they have a pallid, worn complexion, and an appearance of being much older than they really are. This hard and laborious life, however, is precisely such as would render them capable of great exertions as a military nation, if that love of liberty which animated their ancestors, and which still seems an innate principle in all the mountainous parts of Greece, were to excite them to shake off the yoke of their cruel oppressors.

Our road continues winding along the side of the ravine, interrupted by frequent torrents; at 9.7 we descend to the bank of the *Crathis*, but soon mount the slope again, and, proceeding along the side of it, arrive at 10 at Tjivló<sup>a</sup>, (Tzivló,) a small village, where we halt ten minutes. Silívena<sup>b</sup> is on the opposite side of the ravine. Here we quit the *Crathis*, and turn to the left, ascending a steep ridge, the summit of which we reach at 10.35, and then descend obliquely into the ravine of a torrent which begins from a snowy mountain a little on the left; it is a branch of the Lago-Potamó, which joins the sea between the Akráta and the river of Kalávryta. Leaving the hamlet of Apáno-Potamniá a mile on the left, we again ascend, and arrive at the summit of another ridge, called Gaidhára, at 11.10, leaving on the left a remarkable

<sup>a</sup> Τζιβλόρ.

<sup>b</sup> Σηλήβεινα.

flat topt rocky summit, called Petrúki, which was directly in front in mounting the former ridge from Tzivló. On the Gaidhára, a road to Vostítza turns off to the right. The ridge is beautifully overgrown with large firs, in the midst of a natural pasture of the finest turf, which gives the hills the air of a park. The fir-woods become thicker as we descend, and the trees of a very large girth. At 11.40 cross the Lago-Potamó, the direction of the route being now to the left of what it was before. We ascend obliquely the side of the ravine on the left bank of the Lágó, through a thick wood of firs, with stupendous bare precipices on the right. The grandeur of the scene is improved by the flying clouds of a lowering sky, a state of the atmosphere which always increases the apparent scale of mountains, by leaving their several features to be seen only at intervals, and giving continual scope to the imagination.

At 12.5 arrive at the summit of another ridge, called 'Υψηλὸς Σταυρὸς, [High Cross,] having now the summit of Petrúki behind us, and having thus made the half circuit of it. From the ridge of High Cross there is a view of Mount 'Olonos, the mountains behind Kalávryta, and those towards Vostítza, also of the opposite side of the ravine of the river of Kalávryta, as far as the village of Zaklurú, in face of

Megaspílio. Leaving this place at 12.15, we descend through the firs, until, turning an angle of the rocks, which still continue to border the right of the road, we come suddenly upon the convent of Megaspílio, and arrive there at 12.42.

According to the tradition of the monks, this was one of the earliest monastic foundations in Greece, but the convent has been several times destroyed by fire, and the front part of the present building, except a small portion at the northern end, is not more than forty-five years old. It is a vast wall, twelve feet thick, built in the face of an immense cavern, which, towards the middle, extends ninety feet within the precipitous face of the mountain, but diminishes in depth from that point, both laterally and vertically. The height of the wall is, in most parts, sixty-five feet, that of the precipice, from its summit to the bottom of the cavern, or ground floor of the convent, nearly 300 feet. The length of the wall in front, is about 180 feet, making two re-entering angles as it follows the shape of the cavern. Within the cavern are a church, store-houses, kitchens, and a vast cellar, rendered cool, even in the midst of summer, by the thick walls, and by the water which trickles down the sides of the rock. This cellar contains the year's consumption of wine

for the convent, besides that which is required for the supply of the numerous passengers who lodge here. One of the barrels contains 160 loads, each load being two goat skins. It is a red wine with little flavour, and considerably diluted with water. There are numerous cells in the cavern for monks and servants, and ranges of small chambers for the same purpose are built on the top of the wall, with wooden galleries in front of them. The *Ἡγούμενος*, or abbot, has a small chamber and kiosk at the northern end. The roof of the building being sheltered by the upper part of the cavern, is formed only of deal plank.

There are none but ecclesiastical books in the monastery ; the only manuscript the monks can shew me, is a copy, from a vellum manuscript at Constantinople, of a treatise on Alchemy ; but they assert that many valuable books have been destroyed in the fires. The slope of the hill below the convent is agreeably divided, as far down as the river side, into terraces of gardens, which are bordered by groves of fir and other trees. The bare precipices at the back, crowned with other forests, complete this delightful scenery ; but it must be admitted that the monastery itself is more curious than picturesque, and adds little to the natural



beauties of the place. The most valuable possessions of Megaspílio, are in the plain of Elis, where the monks lately paid 10,000 piastres, to be exempted from the inconvenience of supporting a Turkish spahí, at the zevgaláti of Alý Tjelebý. They have a metókhi in the midst of the forest, on the side of the mountain to the southward, another just below the convent, towards the river, and a third with some currant plantations on the sea-side, in the plain of Vostítza; besides which, the monastery possesses 13,000 sheep, and eighty oxen. There are 300 monks belonging to it, but it never happens that they are all present. No person is admitted into the house at night, nor are the gates opened after dark, but there are buildings on the outside, in which travellers may lodge, and where Turkish passengers are placed at all hours; the monastery being exempted by an imperial firmáhn, from lodging Turks within the house. The monks complain of the large sums which they are often required to pay at Constantinople for their privileges and security, to which, moreover, is attached the condition of supplying passengers, gratis, with bread and wine, and to the Turks whatever else the house affords. An aqueduct brings water from a source in the mountains two hours and a half distant, and descends by an open-



ing in the hills, on the southern side of the convent, where, after turning a mill, it serves to water the gardens below : the mill is worked only in summer, when flour is provided for the whole year. To the westward Megaspílio commands a prospect of the ravine of the river of Kalávryta, nearly as far as the high tabular summit, crowned with a ruined castle, called Trémola, which I visited last year : but both that place and the town of Kalávryta are concealed by the great woody counterfort of Mount Khelmós, which lies to the N.E. of the town.

I can no longer hesitate in placing Cynætha on the site of Kalávryta. The positions of Cleitor and the Styx, determined as they are beyond a doubt, leave no room for a second opinion on that question, when the following words of Pausanias<sup>a</sup> are taken into consideration : “ Above Nonacris are the mountains called Aroania ; it is said, that the daughters of Proetus, when afflicted with madness, concealed themselves in a cavern in these mountains ; but that, having been brought by Melampus to the temple of Diana at Lusi, they were cured by sacred expiations. From that time, the epithet of Hemeresia has been given to this Diana by the Cleitorii. The Pheneatæ occupy a great part of the Aroania, but Lusi is within the boundary of the Cleitorii :

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 18, 19.

it is said to have been formerly a city. Agesilaus of Lusi<sup>a</sup> was proclaimed victorious with the race-horse in the eleventh Pythias celebrated by the Amphictyones: at present not even the ruins of Lusi remain. Forty stades distant from the temple of Diana, dwell the people of Arcadic race, called Cynæthaenses, who dedicated the statue of Jupiter at Olympia, having a thunder-bolt in each hand<sup>b</sup>. In their agora are altars of the gods, and a statue of Hadrian. But their most remarkable monument is a temple of Bacchus. Two stades distant from the town, there is a fountain of cold water under a plane tree. Whoever is in danger from the bite of a mad dog, or from an ulcer, or any other [similar] evil, is cured by drinking of this fountain; whence they have given it the name of Alyssus: and thus it appears, that if the Arcadians have a water near Pheneus, called Styx, destructive to men, they have, in the fountain of the Cynæthaenses, a good, to counter-balance the evil."

It seems clear from the preceding, as well as other data already adduced, that the village of Sudhená, which stands at the foot of Khelmós, on the s. w. side, on the edge of a

<sup>a</sup> ἀντὶ Λουσεύς.

<sup>b</sup> It was nine feet high:  
(Pausan. Eliac. pr. c. 22.)

standing on a pedestal (ἑστῶς), which, as well as the statue, was of bronze.

plain lying midway between those of Katzánes and Kalávryta, on a higher level than the former, and on a still higher level than the latter, is upon or near the site of *Lusi*. The ancient foundations westward of Sudhená, at the principal sources of the river of Karnési, which I passed last year (May 27th), in the plain, proceeding from Karnési to Kalávryta, probably mark the site of the temple of Diana Hemeresia; for the time distance of an hour and a half from thence to Kalávryta, partly over a steep ridge, corresponds very well with the forty stades of Pausanias between the temple and Cynætha. The fine sources<sup>a</sup> from which I suppose the modern name of the town to have been derived, being about the actual distance of two stades from Kalávryta, at which Pausanias places the Alysso from Cynætha, tends to shew that Kalávryta occupies the exact site of the ancient city. The remark of Pausanias, as to the Cynæthaenses being of *Arcadic race*, is explained by their being the frontier people towards Achaia: Polybius shews that in his time the Arcadians would willingly have disclaimed them<sup>b</sup>. It is unfortunate that Pausanias omitted to describe the course, or to give us the name of the river of Kalávryta, as it would have served to identify one of the streams which he describes on the

<sup>a</sup> καλὰ βρύτα.

<sup>b</sup> Polyb. l. 4. c. 21.

coast of *Achaia*, and would thus have formed a point of connection in the geography of the two ancient provinces. From his remark, as to the *Pheneatæ* possessing a great part of the *Aroania*, it would seem that these mountains comprehended not only Khelmós, but the great summits also of Mazi and Turtována, adjoining Khelmós to the south-eastward, together with all the ridges as far as Mount *Crathis*, and the plains of *Pheneus* and *Cleitor*. There cannot be any question that each of the summits had anciently its separate name, though not even that of Khelmós, a mountain little inferior to *Cyllene*, *Olenus*, or *Taygetum*, has been preserved in history.

April 5. From Megaspílio to Vostítza. Set out at 8.20. Our road descends the mountain by a narrow zigzag path among bushes. At 8.40 cross the river by a bridge. Zaklurú<sup>a</sup> is five minutes beyond, a village having two small makhalás on the left bank of the river, and a third on the right. We proceed along the side of a bare mountain above the left bank; at 9, quitting the river, which pursues its course northward towards the sea, through a narrow ravine bordered by precipices, we turn to the left up a valley formed by a branch of the river: after skirting the right bank of this stream a

<sup>a</sup> Ζακλογούριον.

little way, cross it at 9.6, and mount the ridge over the left bank, leaving Dumená on the side of the opposite mountain, half a mile on the left. At 9.40, having arrived at the top of the ridge, we look down on the Corinthian Gulf, descend and then cross another ridge, on the summit of which, at 10.25, we halt five minutes. Here is a fine view of the opposite part of Rúmili; *Parnassus*, and the mountains near Sálona, are very conspicuous. I clearly distinguish the great opening behind *Delphi*, above the fountain *Castalia*. Below us is a hollow of cultivated land and pasture, with small streams running into the Kalávryta river, which is at no great distance on the right. Proceed along the side of the hill, and halt five minutes at a fountain; eight minutes beyond, I arrive at 11 at the site of an ancient town; it stood on the lowest part of the ridge which separates the course of the feeders of the Kalávryta river from the waters flowing to another stream which joins the sea at two miles to the westward of the former, and is called the river of Bokhúsia. The Hellenic remains consist of several foundations and pieces of wall, of some of which there are two or three courses still extant. The city was on the eastern face of the ridge, looking towards the Kalávryta river: I conceive it to have been *Cery-*



*neia*. I observe two or three sepulchres of the simplest kind.

Proceeding obliquely down the mountain which forms the eastern side of the ravine of the river Bokhúsia, we arrive at 11.35 at a *der-véni*, or guard-house. This is nothing more than a wicker hut, out of which issue two unarmed Greeks, one of them beating a great drum, and the other begging for *parás*. The sides of these mountains are beautifully variegated with pines and shrubs, and clothed with a fine pasture. 11.55 arrive at the spot where the river emerges from the ravine into the maritime plain, which widens from hence to Vostítza; immediately afterwards we cross the river, and proceed along the plain: 12.13, at the foot of the mountain on the left are some walls of Roman tiles, in one part of which there is a circular niche. At 12.27 halt till 1.4, then proceed through the plain of Vostítza. At 1½ cross the river of Vostítza, a rapid stream, difficult to pass after rains; at 2 arrive in the middle of the town of Vostítza. The river is formed from several tributaries, of which the sources are near Aio Vlási, and in the summits to the eastward of that place. The united stream flows from thence between the mountains Voidhiás and Klokós, and enters the plain immediately behind Vostítza,



after which it makes a circuit to the right, so as to join the sea between two and three miles to the eastward of the town.

Vostítza stands on a hill, terminating towards the sea in a cliff about fifty feet high, which is separated from the beach by a narrow level. Here are some copious sources of water, shaded by a magnificent plane tree, nearly forty feet in girth. A remarkable opening in the cliff, originally perhaps artificial, leads from the town to the ordinary place of embarkation, which is just below the fountains. All the currants and other export produce of the northern coast of the Moréa are brought here in boats for shipment. The harbour is formed by a low alluvial point at the mouth of a river which corresponds to the Meganites of Pausanias. Being sheltered from the west by this point, it is a safer port than that of Patra, but it is not sufficiently capacious, and is rather too deep for merchant ships, having a depth of six or seven fathoms near the shore. To the north and north-east it is rather exposed, but I should think seldom dangerously; for, though it now blows a gale from that quarter, there is very little sea in the harbour. Its easy access, and the fine springs so commodiously placed for watering ships, will always secure to the position some commercial importance; and the more so, as the only other places on the

coast, frequented by ships, between it and Patra, are Lambíri and Psathlópyrgo, which, like Akráta and Xyló-Kastro, to the eastward, are mere anchorages, and are not to be compared with the fine harbours of the northern coast of the Corinthian Gulf, where the shores of *Locris*, *Phocis*, *Bæotia*, and *Megaris* form a contrast in this particular to the *Peloponnesus*, which, on its northern and western sides, possesses not a single perfect harbour, except Navarín. For ship or boat building, the mountains around Vostítza produce pine wood in abundance, and other kinds of timber may be procured from the western part of Achaia, or from the mountains on the northern and eastern shores of the gulf.

Vostítza contains only one mosque; there are about thirty Turkish families, and three or four hundred Greek: it has lately received a considerable increase from Galaxídhi, from whence many of the inhabitants have emigrated, to avoid the vexations of Alý Pashá, who required them to work at his vessels without pay; and thus a part of the commerce of Galaxídhi has been removed to this place.

That Vostítza occupies the site of an ancient town of importance, is evident from the abundance of broken pottery, and from numerous sepulchres, containing bones and broken vases,

which are found in the surrounding fields. I observed several of these formed simply of four slabs of stone, set endwise. I remarked also many fragments of architecture, or sculpture in marble, which had been brought to light by the plough or the hoe; and as well in the town as in the cultivated land around it, many broken tiles of large dimensions, some of which are painted with architectural ornaments, and shew that the ancient buildings were often of brick-work. This may be accounted for by the nature of the soil in this part of Achaia, which is a sort of crumbling stone, mixed with earth, and affords no quarry of a more homogeneous material; it is the cause also of there being so little now remaining of the ancient Ægium, of which city Vostítza is undoubtedly the site. A small sepulchral bas-relief, with three figures in very good taste, has lately been found, and inserted in the wall of a private house; and I remarked in several places in the town portions of columns, particularly at one of the churches.

Although the fountains of Vostítza, from their situation near the shore, are more convenient for supplying water to ships than to the town, it may be believed, that this favour of nature, combined with the defensible hill, the fertile plain, and the rivers on either side, were the original cause of the Greek settlement in this

spot. To the advantage of the harbour, and its central position in the Corinthiac Gulf, central, at least, according to the ancient boundaries of the Gulf, we may ascribe the magnitude and importance of Ægium, in a more advanced stage of society. The destruction of Helice and Bura, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, added to the decline of Ægæ at an earlier period, prepared Ægium for being the chief town of the Achaian league. During the eighty years of the desolation of Corinth, which followed its capture by Mummius, Ægium, being much better adapted to commerce than Sicyon, was without a rival in the Corinthiac Gulf; the establishment of a Roman colony at Corinth by Julius Cæsar, and soon afterwards that of another at Patræ by Augustus, reduced it again to the third in rank; but as late as the reign of Marcus Aurelius, it preserved the memory of its former supremacy in the Achaian council, which still assembled at Ægium, when Pausanias travelled <sup>a</sup>.

The first object which the Greek traveller observed at Ægium, approaching the town from the westward, was the stoa of the Athlete Strato <sup>b</sup>; then a temple of Lucina, and an inclosure <sup>c</sup> of Æsculapius. The statue of Lucina was acrolithic, covered with a veil, extending one hand, and holding a torch in the other. The temenus of Æscu-

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Achaic. c. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. c. 23.

<sup>c</sup> τέμενος.

lapius contained statues of Æsculapius and Hygieia, made by Damophon of Messene. In a temple of Minerva there were two statues of the goddess in white marble; in a grove of Juno, one which it was not permitted to any but the priestess to see. Near the theatre stood a temple of Bacchus, with a beardless statue of the god. In the agora there was a temenus of Jupiter, in the entrance of which, to the left, were two statues of the god, one of these, without a beard, was very ancient; the agora contained also a building<sup>a</sup>, in which were statues of Neptune, Hercules, Jupiter, and Minerva, surnamed the Argives; a temple of Diana, who was represented in her statue as drawing the bow; and a tomb of the herald Talthybius. Adjacent to the agora there was a temple sacred to Apollo and Diana. In the maritime quarter, near the sources, which Pausanias describes as agreeable both to the taste and view<sup>b</sup>, were temples of Venus, of Neptune, of Proserpine, of Jupiter Homagyrius, of Ceres Panachaia, and of Safety<sup>c</sup>. The priests alone were permitted to see the statue in the last-named temple. The Ægienses had also brazen statues of a very youthful Jupiter, and of a beardless Hercules; they were works of Ageladas of Argos, and were kept in the houses

<sup>a</sup> οἶκημα.<sup>b</sup> ὕδωρ ἀφθονον θεάσασθαι τε.

καὶ πλεῖν ἐκ πηγῆς ἡδύ.

<sup>c</sup> Σωτηρία.



of the priests. The Homagyrium contained statues of Jupiter, Venus, and Minerva; its name was said to have been derived from the common council here held by Agamemnon, previously to the Trojan expedition. It was the place of meeting of the council of the Achaian confederacy, through the whole course of its history. All measures of common interest were ratified there, and it still served, in the time of Pausanias, for a meeting of the deputies of the Achaian cities <sup>a</sup>.

The modern houses of Vostítza prevent any effectual attempt to trace the description of Pausanias on the site of the upper town. I could not find any certain vestiges of the theatre, which would throw some light on the topography, nor are there any remains of buildings very apparent near the shore; though it is highly probable that excavations would in both situations lead to some interesting discoveries, more especially as Ægium flourished during the best period of Grecian art.

Vostítza is often mentioned by Phranza in the narrative of his own proceedings and those of the Palæologi, in the Moréa, between the year 1428, when he accompanied Constantine thither, and the termination of his annals in

<sup>a</sup> συνέδριον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. The Amphictyonic council continued to meet in like manner at Delphi and Thermopylæ.




1477. Chalcocondylas, in relating the Turkish conquest of the peninsula, evidently intends the same place by Ægium<sup>a</sup>, which Phranza calls Vostítza<sup>b</sup>. Mahomet the Second, in the year 1460, after the occupation of Mistrá, Kalamáta; and the other strong places in Laconia and Messenia, advanced from Arkadhía into the *Eleia*, where Sandaméri and Khlomútza were the principal fortresses. Having reduced these, he proceeded to Patra, which, together with Vostítza, had been given up to him in the year 1458, by the treaty of Corinth. He then captured Kalávryta, which had been ceded by the same treaty, but had been re-taken by the despot, Thomas. His last conquests were Kastriméno and Salmeníko, both of which were in the vicinity of Mount Voidhiá. Of the fortresses of the Moréa, there remained, after this period, in the hands of the Venetians, Mothóni, Koróni, Monemvasía, and Argos. Of these, Argos was taken in 1463; Mothóni not till 1499.

Vostítza commands a fine view of the *Achaian* coast between Capes Lambíri and Avgó, as well as of all the summits which rise from the northern shore of the gulf, from Mount Rigáni, behind 'Epakto, to the peak of the Corinthian *Oneia*, above the modern village of Perakhóra, which falls in a line with Cape Avgó. Immedi-

<sup>a</sup> Αἴγιον.

<sup>b</sup> Βοστίτζα.

ately in front of Vostítza is seen a part of *Locris*, which I have not visited. A remarkable height, rising just over the centre of the islands, called Trisónia, is said to be the position of a Hellenic ruin: behind it a valley ascends between the mountains, in which is the village of Servúla, and, higher up, Xylo-Gáidhára. Another ruin is reported to exist near Petrinítza, a village situated in a plain on the eastern side of Cape Psaromýti. A little farther east is another village, Kesíli, in the same plain. 'Epakto is just hid by the Achaian coast. The harbour of Trisónia is well sheltered by the islands opposite to it on the main land; there is a fine plain, but it is not much cultivated.

April 6.—At 7.50 descend through the opening in the cliff, and pass westward along the sea-side. At the end of the cliff, I observe in a corn-field a square stele of ordinary stone, and another of black marble, partly buried in the ground. The former is three feet seven inches square: the mouldings on both are a simple ovolo and fillet. I remarked also in several parts of the cliff, sepulchral niches of this form, but almost entirely  ruined by the effect of time on the crumbling rock. At 8.20 cross a stream flowing from the mountains and traversing the plain, like all the others of this coast, in a broad gravelly bed. In

the course of time the river, by its alluvions, has formed the long point which shelters the anchorage of Vostítza on the west.

At 8.43 we pass another stream not so large, which joins the sea in a small curve of the coast: this seems to be the Phœnix, and the former the Meganitas of Pausanias. At 9.15 cross a rapid river flowing in a wide gravelly bed. It is called the river of Salmeníko, and issues into the plain from some heights attached to Mount Voidhiá. Salmeníko, now a small village, is the place which resisted the Turks so well in the year 1460. *Rhypæ* probably stood on the banks of this river, perhaps on the exact site of Salmeníko, as the epithet *Κεραυνία*, which Æschylus<sup>a</sup> applied to *Rhypæ*, seems to indicate a lofty situation, such as Chalcœcondylas describes that of Salmeníko. *Rhypæ* flourished only in distant ages<sup>b</sup>, and was finally demolished when Augustus colonized Patræ, and removed thither the remaining inhabitants of *Rhypæ*; its vestiges only were left in the time of Pausanias<sup>c</sup>. At 9.40 we reach the foot of the bluff point, which forms so remarkable an object, as well from the Achaian as from the opposite coast of the gulf. Here is a small bay, on

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Strabon. p. 387.

<sup>b</sup> Myscellus of *Rhypæ* was the reputed founder of Crotona, about 710 B. C.

<sup>c</sup> προσσυνώκησε δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τοὺς ἐκ Ῥυπῶν, καταβαλὼν ἐς ἑδαφος Ῥύπας. Pausan. Achaic. c. 18.

the shore of which stands a khan belonging to an agá of Patra. The bay and khan are known by the name of Lambíri, or rather of the vineyards of Lambíri<sup>a</sup>, from a ruined village of that name on the mountain, to which belonged the land near this harbour, formerly planted with vines. A Greek now rents the khan and six strémata of corn-land from the agá, for 200 piastres a-year. I leave the khan at 10. From thence the road begins to traverse the stony roots of a mountain which advances from Mount Voidhiá into the gulf: it is called the mountain of Lúbista, or the Lubístes, from two villages of that name<sup>b</sup>, which together contain about fifty houses.

At 11.12, a mile on the left, a cascade falls over a rock about 100 feet high, and almost perpendicular, which is clothed on the summit and sides with woods of pine and prinári. At 11.45 we descend upon the sea-beach at Psathó-pyrgo, (Mat-tower,) a small curvature of the coast where vessels lie sheltered from the west by a low point in that direction, beyond which appears the Moréa castle<sup>c</sup>, standing upon the cape anciently called Rhium. At Psathó-pyrgo there is a small marshy flat by the sea-side, and the ruins of a tower. Quitting this place at

<sup>a</sup> Λαμπήρ' σταμπέλια.

<sup>b</sup> αἱ Λυμπίσταις.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ Κάστρον τῆς Μορέας.

12.15, we proceed again through a shrubby desert over the stony extremity of the mountain, which is here lower and more sloping than before. We cross, at 12.30, a stream which rises in Mount Voidhiá, and descends through a gorge in the hills to the left; it joins the sea at a low curved sandy point, which its alluvions have formed in the course of ages, and which being now called Dhrépano, or Dhrápano, can be no other than the Cape Drepanum of Pausanias. Just beyond the river, we pass on the left a flat topped height overlooking the maritime level; it has some appearances of artificial ground, and answers exactly to the site of *Bolina*.

At 12.56 we enter the plain of Kastéli, which extends to Patra, and soon afterwards arrive at the head of a bay extending from Cape *Drepanum* to Cape *Rhium*. This bay is evidently the Port *Panormus* of antiquity. There is a Turkish fountain on the beach; near it formerly stood a tekiéh, or tomb, of a Turkish saint, from which the bay still bears the name of Tekiéh. At 1.30 Kastéli, as the Moréa castle and its Greek suburb are commonly called, is a mile on the right. At five minutes, on either side of it, a small stream crosses the road; the western is formed of several torrents. At 2, we pass another rivulet, and at 2.40, arrive in the middle of the town of Patra.



## CHAPTER XXVII.

### ACHAIA.

Ancient History of ACHAIA.—Twelve Cities.—From Patra to Vostítza.—By Sea to Xyló-kastro.—To Trikkala.—PELLENE.—MYSÆUM.—CYRUS.—Trikkala.—OLURUS.—To Vasiliká.—To Corinth.

THE most remarkable events in the early history of Achaia, are represented in the same manner by Strabo and Pausanias, who very nearly agree also on the less important subject of the genealogy and personal adventures of the family of Hellen, as connected with the history of this and the other provinces of the Peloponnesus<sup>a</sup>. The only historical fact which can reasonably be deduced from such traditions, compared with the evidence of the earliest of Greek historians, Homer, is, that the name of the Achaians originated in Thessaly, and had spread very widely in Greece, particularly in Peloponnesus, prior to the time, when Grecian history can be said to commence.

Ægialus, or the country adjacent to the northern shore of the Peloponnesus, was occupied, at the earliest period of which history has

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 383.—Pausan. Achaic. c. 1.

any knowledge, by the Ionians of Attica, who there founded twelve cities. When the Achæi were expelled from Laconia and Argolis by the Heracleidæ, eighty years after the Trojan war, they placed themselves under the conduct of Tisamenus, a grandson of Agamemnon, and proceeding to Ægialus, displaced the Ionians, who returned into Attica, and from thence, under the sons of Codrus, proceeded into Asia. The division of the Asiatic Ionia into twelve cities, and the adoption by the Asiatics of the worship and rites of Neptune of Helice, are convincing evidences of the truth of this part of Grecian history, and shew that the foundation of the twelve cities of Achaia was anterior to that occupation of the Ægialus which caused its name to be changed into that of Achaia.

There is reason to believe, therefore, that in Achaia the federal system began earlier, as well as lasted longer, than in the other parts of Greece, where in general, when the regal government, which was the most common in the early ages, had ceased, the principal city of the province acquired such a predominance as led to the comparative insignificance and the real decline of all the others, and this state of things continued until foreign power acquired the chief influence in the government of Greece. But

in Achaia the federation of several cities of nearly equal power, assisted by an extensive alliance, survived even through a great part of the latter æra, and was the means, at length, of conferring upon Achaia the empty honour of giving its name to all southern Greece, as long as that country continued to be a province of the Roman empire.

It is in the nature of a confederacy of small republics to take little interest as a nation in external politics, until some one of the states obtaining superior importance, becomes a point of union for a central government, and an example to the others of more enlarged views and a higher feeling of national honour. Achaia gave no assistance to the defence of Greece against the Persians. During several ages she was exempted by her situation from the necessity of taking any active part in the wars of the leading states of Greece. Thus she had more leisure than any other province to cultivate the arts of peace, and increased so much in wealth and population, as to become the founder of some Greek colonies in Italy, whose rapid advances to opulence and power may be attributed to their adoption of the wise laws and institutions of Achaia.

“When Xerxes and the Medes”, says Pausanias, “invaded Greece, the Achaians neither

aided Leonidas at Thermopylæ, nor Themistocles and the Athenians in the sea-fights at Eubœa and Salamis. There is no mention of them as auxiliaries, either among the Athenians or Lacedæmonians, nor did they partake in the affair at Platæa, as is manifest from their names not appearing in the common offering of the Greeks at Olympia. It appears to me therefore, that at that time their attention was turned towards the affairs of their own country, and that, elated with their Trojan victory, they could not bear to be commanded by the Lacedæmonians, who were Dorians. This, in time, became still more evident, for when the Lacedæmonians were afterwards at war with the Athenians, the Achaïans readily brought assistance to the Patrenses, and were not less favourably inclined to the Athenians<sup>a</sup>. As to the subsequent wars, the Achaïans took a part, in the action at Chæroneia, against Philip and the Macedonians, but it is said that they were not engaged in the battle at Lamia, not having then recovered from the effects of the defeat in Bœotia.”<sup>b</sup>

It was not until the decline of the great

<sup>a</sup> See Thucyd. l. 1. c. 111. and Plutarch. in Alcibiad. Some of the Achaïans, however, were in alliance with

Sparta in the Peloponnesian war. Thucyd. l. 2. c. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Achaic. c. 6.

republics of Greece, that the Achaians assumed the importance, which their tranquillity and good internal government, during the earlier periods, insured for them during the last ages of independent Greece. “When the Lacedæmonians,” observes Pausanias, “after the defeat at Leuctra, the assembling of the Arcadians in Megalopolis, and the re-establishment of the Messenians, were no longer able to preserve their former prosperity; when the Thebans had been reduced to such a desolate condition by Alexander, that, not many years afterwards, when they were restored by Cassander, they were found incapable of defending themselves; when the Athenians, although benevolence was shewn to them by the Greek nation in deference to the memory of their former actions, could never secure themselves from the arms of the Macedonians; when the Greeks had no general council, and each state attended to its own affairs, there were none who, in power, could be compared to the Achaians, all whose cities, except Pellene, had ever been free from the government of tyrants, and had never suffered from war and pestilence so much as the other Greeks. They established, therefore, a community of designs and operations, and assembled a council called the Achaic in Ægium, which, ever since the destruction of



Helice by an inundation, had excelled all the other cities of Achaia in dignity and power."

Pausanias then proceeds to devote ten chapters to the events of that instructive period in the decline of Greece, when its power was chiefly divided among the Achaians, Ætolians, and Lacedæmonians. Intent only on their own quarrels, these states, as well as the smaller, were blind to the danger threatened from the steady policy, the military strength, and the unrelenting ambition of Rome. Instead of uniting to oppose that danger, instead of endeavouring to cement alliances with the kings of Macedonia, Illyria, and Asia, each state in its turn supported Rome against its Grecian rivals, and thus invited the Romans to bring them all in succession under the yoke. By constantly referring the decision of their puerile quarrels to the senate of Rome or its emissaries, they offered to the Romans a temptation, which a more just and less ambitious government would hardly have been able to resist.

To Achaia, as most abundant in the resources of wealth, high reputation, extensive alliances, disciplined forces, and commanders of ability and honesty, the chief disgrace of the ruin of Greece is to be ascribed. The great qualities of Aratus and Philopœmen, instead of

being exerted in producing unanimity, were exercised upon the disputes between the democracies and oligarchies, and in counteracting the effects of the support which the latter received from Macedonia or from Sparta. One man only, and he belonging to a people uncivilized in comparison with the Achaians, is recorded as having foreseen the consequences of the quarrels of the Greeks among one another. Livy, copying from Polybius, has preserved the speech of Agelas of Naupactus, in recommendation of the only policy which could save Greece from ruin, but which neither Aratus, nor Philopœmen, nor Polybius himself, had the sense, or courage, or consistency, to pursue. In justice, however, to Aratus and Philopœmen, it should be added, that during the whole career of the former, and the greater part of that of the latter, the Romans had not yet conceived the designs upon Greece with which they were soon afterwards inspired by their successes in other quarters, and by the subsequent folly or wickedness of the Greek leaders. Philopœmen appears, before his death, to have taken alarm at the conduct of the Romans, although it was a conduct which he himself had invited, by allowing the Achaians to assist the Romans against Philip, Antiochus, and Nabis.

The opposition of the democratic and tyrannic, or oligarchic interests, which is the great mover of the politics of Greece from the beginning to the end of its history, or, at least, from the time when it became republican to the final loss of its independence—the restless, invidious, factious, and treacherous spirit which has characterized so many of its leading men in all ages, conducted the country with rapidity to its ruin, when there was an abundance of individuals of that character, uncorrected by the control of such men as Aratus and Philopœmen. One is surprised to find Polybius, who has left us many sensible observations upon war and politics, approving of the support given by the Achaian league to the Romans against Perseus, instead of recommending to his countrymen to form an effectual union of the whole Greek nation against the Italians, whose ill success in the first two years of the third Macedonian war, was highly encouraging to such an united effort. In fact the writings of Polybius betray that early and constant partiality for the Romans which, cooling the ardour of his patriotism and blinding him to the dangers of his country, must, by its effects, have contributed to the subjugation of Greece not less certainly than the glaring folly and villainy of a Diæus or a Callicrates. But though he cannot be com-

mended for the wisdom of his views, it is a strong proof of his honesty, that not all his exertions or talents, nor all his admiration of the Romans, could save his party from the persecutions of Callicrates, nor himself from being included among the thousand leading men of Achaia who were detained seventeen years in Italy, until only 300 of them survived. Ultimately this was a fortunate event for Polybius, for Greece, and for literature, by enabling him to obtain the friendship of some of the most illustrious Romans, to visit Italy, Spain, and Africa, to intercede with Rome in favour of conquered Greece, and finally to write a history of his own times, for which he was better qualified than any man then living<sup>a</sup>. Unhappily we have but fragments of this great work, in consequence of which, the historical digression in Pausanias, which has given rise to these remarks, is the more valuable as containing the best materials for the history of the last years of the Achaian league and of Grecian independence.

It is difficult to understand the nature of the revolution which was effected by Nero in the political state of Greece, or to comprehend what kind of liberty that was for which the people were indebted to the caprice of such a

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 37.

tyrant<sup>a</sup>. It is probable, that his favours were confined to a remission of a part of the tribute to Rome, and that he deprived the Roman prætor of a part of his authority over the municipalities; the consequence of which could only have been to throw all the cities into that state of anarchy which had been a common attendant of their democratic constitutions even in better times. Whatever may have been the immediate effects of the decree of Nero, they did not long continue; Vespasian soon found it necessary to replace Greece in its former state, which was undoubtedly the best suited to the country under the circumstances of those times.

The twelve cities founded in Ægialus by the Ionians and occupied by the Achaians who expelled them, were Dyme, Olenus, Pharæ, Tritæa, Patræ, Rhypæ, Ægium, Helice, Bura, Ægæ, Ægeira, Pellene. This is the catalogue of Herodotus and of Strabo<sup>b</sup>. According to Pausanias, Patræ was not founded until after the occupation of the country by the Achæi, and he names Ceryneia in the place of it<sup>c</sup>. Polybius omits Ægæ and Rhypæ, and substitutes Leontium and Ceryneia. But Polybius refers

<sup>a</sup> Sueton. in Neron. —  
Pausan. Achaic. c. 17.—Plin.  
l. 4. c. 6.—Eutrop. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. l. 1. c. 145.—  
Strabo, p. 385.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Achaic. c. 18.



to the cities of the Achaian confederacy as it was established on the abolition of the monarchy, which had continued from Tisamenus to Ogygus<sup>a</sup>, when Ægæ was already a ruin, and Rhypæ in a state of imbecility. About the year 305 B. C., the federation was suspended by the discord among the cities, which had been caused by the interference of the Macedonians in the affairs of southern Greece. It was renewed between the years 281 and 274 B. C., by seven cities of the western part of Achaia, which, thirty years later, were joined by Sicyon, Corinth, and Megara, and ultimately by the greater part of the Peloponnesus<sup>b</sup>.

During the two centuries intervening between the times of Polybius and of Strabo, all the smaller towns of Achaia had fully partaken in the general ruin of Greece; and Augustus having annexed Dyme, Pharæ, and Tritæa to the jurisdiction of the Roman colony of Patræ, there remained, when Pausanias visited the country, about 170 years afterwards, very little besides ruins and places of worship in

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. l. 2. c. 41.—l. 4. c. 1.—Strabo, p. 384.

<sup>b</sup> The seven cities of the latter Achæan league, were Dyme, Patræ, Pharæ, Tritæa, Ægium, Bura, Ceryneia. Olenus refused to join the alliance, possibly because it was

already in a very declining state, for not long afterwards the Olenii retired from their city into three neighbouring towns. Polyb. l. 2. c. 41.—Strabo, pp. 384. 386.—Pausan. Achaic. c. 18.

any of the Achaian cities, except Patræ and Ægium.

April 15.—A strong north-eastern wind has continued to blow at Patra from the 6th to this day. The temperature, in the warmest hours of the day, was rather high, about 70° Fahrenheit : the hills in the gulf were capped, and it generally rained in the afternoon within the gulf. In February the same wind and the same appearance of the atmosphere prevailed, with a lower thermometer, though high for the season. I remarked this effect of the N.E. wind the more, because in Greece its general character is that of a clear and sharp wind, and it generally accompanies the fine weather in winter. Upon inquiry I found that the wind at sea all this time was scirocco (south-east). It seems, that in the narrow western parts of the gulf, between the capes Psaromýti and Papa, there are two prevailing winds, known by the names of *Ἑμ-πασιὰ* and *Εὐγαζιὰ*, which, in the kakophonic Zantiote pronunciation of our worthy consul, sound very like what would be written in English, Basháw and Washáw. *Ἑμβάζει ὁ αἶρας* and *Εὐγάζει ὁ κόρφος* are also common expressions to indicate the two winds. All the steady westerly breezes in the summer blow into the gulf and along its mid-channel. At Patra the Evgaziá generally draws from the N.E., being

deflected upon Patra by the great mountains Rigáni, Kakí Skala, and Paleo-Vúni. It is even known to blow in that direction when the wind is south at sea, and when beyond Cape Papa it is met by a true south wind, blowing through the channel of Zákytho. In the wider parts of the Corinthiac, as well as in the Saronic Gulf, the winds are more nearly what they are in the open sea, but modified in their course by the mountains. Thus, the Argolic Gulf gives the southerly wind a good deal of easting in the Corinthiac Gulf, from whence it draws through the mid-channel of the Strait of Naupactus, and becomes, as I have said, a north-east at Patra. The difference of the two kinds of north-east is strongly marked at Patra, a real north-east being clear and sharp; a false one being marked by the usual indications of a scirocco, namely, heat, covered mountains, and a hazy sky. Although the true north-east generally accompanies the fine weather in winter, and is light and frosty, terrible gales sometimes occur from that quarter, such as the euroclydon which blew St. Paul to Malta. These foul weather north-easters cap the mountains, but they are not very common, and a fall of rain soon brings about a change. In general the quality of the several winds in Greece are nearly the same as in England.

This day (April 15) I return to Vostítza in company with Mr. Consul Strane. The pace of our agoyatic hacks is slow. At 10.25 set out;—10.50, cross a river, (the *Meilichus* of Pausanias,) on its banks are the villages of Apáno and Kato Sykená, in a small valley, which to the west is bounded by the rugged heights near Patra, and in the opposite direction by similar heights separating the valley from the plain of Kastéli: 11.35 cross several small torrents (the *Charadrus* of the ancients) which join the sea a little west of the castle;—11.50 cross a stream which joins the sea a little east of the castle (the *Selemnus*). 12.25 arrive at the head of the bay of Tekiéh (*Panormus*). Two Greek ships of Galaxídhi are at anchor in the bay; they sailed a few days ago from Patra for the purpose of keeping Easter at home, but having been arrested by the evgaziá have lost the feast both at Patra and Galaxídhi. This is a great disappointment to the poor sailors, as Easter “comes but once a year”, and the Greeks are allowed by their tyrants to keep their *Bairam* without molestation.

The Easter lamb is generally purchased several days before the Sunday, but never killed till the morning or the evening before. From Thursday to Monday no work is done, and not a boat sails. At Patra I saw the boatmen on Easter

Sunday ranged in parties along the beach,—each boat's crew seated on the ground in the hot sun, round a great fire, roasting lambs, and waiting with impatience, after the forty days' fast, till they were dressed. By nine or ten o'clock in the forenoon most of the families in the town had dined, and were already half drunk and dancing. At Patra the Greeks have full liberty to enjoy the festival of Lambrí<sup>a</sup>, with all its honours of fine clothes, firing of crackers and pistols, painted eggs, roasted lambs, drinking, music, and dancing; but they cannot make the midnight procession through the streets as at Kalamáta, where they spoke to me with great pride and satisfaction of their superiority in this respect over all the rest of the Moréa.

At 12.35 leave Tekiéh; at 1.15 cross a stream which flowing from a narrow gorge in the advanced part of *Panachaïcum* on the right, joins the sea at *Drepanum*; 1.35, Psathó-pyrgo; 3.45, khan of Lambíri; leave it at 5.7, and arrive, at 7.20, at the great plane tree of Vosítza.

April 17.—Sail this morning to Xyló-kastro in a boat bound to that place to load currants: the distance by sea is about thirty English miles.

<sup>a</sup> Λαμπρή.



In less than an hour we reach Cape Ghýftissa<sup>a</sup>, a low promontory, which terminates the olive-covered plain of Vostítza at a distance of two or three miles from the town: it shelters the roadstead on the eastern side, and seems to have been formed by the alluvions of the river *Selinus*, like the promontory of the *Meganitas*, on the western side of the harbour. A bay three miles eastward of Ghýftissa is much frequented for the fishery of sardéles<sup>b</sup>, an inferior kind of anchovy, which are salted in the gulf and carried to the islands. The fishermen are chiefly of Zákytho; they catch, among other fish, the Gofó<sup>c</sup>, which weighs sometimes from seventy to one hundred pounds.

In the adjacent plain are the villages of Tarátzes<sup>d</sup> and Temená or Teméni<sup>e</sup>: the latter name seems to indicate the position of the τέμενος of Neptune Heliconius; for although the temple and sacred grove were submerged by the earthquake which destroyed Helice, a part of the sacred portion of Neptune may have been saved, and have continued sacred to him. We are becalmed for two or three hours off Trupíá and the mouth of the river of Kalávryta. Trupíá is a metókhi of the monastery of Megaspílio, delightfully situated at the foot of steep hills

<sup>a</sup> Γύφτισσα.<sup>b</sup> σαεδέλαις.<sup>c</sup> Gobius?<sup>d</sup> Ταράτζαις.<sup>e</sup> Τεμενάς, or Τεμένι.

on a woody height overlooking a narrow maritime plain, which is covered with currant vineyards. The wind springing up from the west, we quickly pass Cape Akráta, and arrive abreast of that called Avgó.

The rivers of this coast all issue from the mountains through narrow rocky openings, which give the coast a very peculiar aspect from the sea, the mountains, which all either rise abruptly from the shore, or are separated from it only by narrow levels, being divided into distinct masses by the rocky ravines. The rivers of Salmeníko and Vostítza, the Bokhúsia, the river of Kalávryta, the Akráta, those of Zákthuli, and Tríkkala, have all the same character. Between the Bokhúsia and the river of Kalávryta the maritime plain, as I have just remarked, is covered with currant plantations; eastward of Akráta there is another similar level on the seaside, above which rise steep fertile slopes, studded with villages and clothed with corn fields, which produce some of the best Griniá wheat in the Moréa. The sea is whitened by the water of the rivers which flow from the mountains above this bay. At Avgó we approach a barren, uncultivated coast, covered with shrubs and broken into small hills consisting of white precipices like those of Zákyntho and Patra.

Avgó<sup>a</sup> is a promontory of these white cliffs, of a conical form, and, although not high, it is a very conspicuous object throughout the gulf. We then pass a pyrgo of Núri Bey at Kamári, where begins a narrow plain extending to Xyló-kastro. This plain, though much of it is uncultivated, produces rice, corn, olives, and currants. It is marshy, of a white argillaceous soil, like all the shore to the eastward of Cape Ak-ráta, and so extremely unhealthy in summer as to be almost uninhabitable. A few overseers of the property of the *Νοταπαῖοι*, or family of Notará, and of Núri Bey, are the only persons who remain in that season at Kamári and Xyló-kastro. At 6 in the evening we land at the magazine of Xyló-kastro, and ride to the village, which stands at the foot of the hills half a mile distant. It consists only of half a dozen huts, belonging to one of the Notaréi. The adjacent hills produce a good red wine unmixed with resin.

April 18.—At 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  we set out for Tríkkala, and enter the narrow vale of the river of Xyló-kastro, which, flowing from Mount Zýria, leaves the village of Xyló-kastro on the left

<sup>a</sup> *Αὔγον*, egg. In this and several other modern Greek words we find the  $\Gamma$  performing the same office as the digamma of old. *Αὔγον*, therefore, may rather be considered a dialectic variation than a corruption of *ᾠδον*, or *ΩΦΟΝ*, the accents, moreover, being the same.

bank at its exit from the gorge. At 7.40 the valley widens. Like the maritime plain of Xyló-kastro, it is covered with currant vineyards, thriving in a soil of white clay, and giving, it is said, triple the return of those which grow in the rich mould of Gastúni. To our right rise white precipices of the same kind of soil as the valley, but clothed with large pines, which form a wild and beautiful scenery. Before us are the two great summits of Mount *Cyllene*,—Zýria (the proper *Cyllene*) to the right, and Ghymno-vúni, or Mount *Stymphalus*, to the left. They are separated by a ravine, through which flows the principal branch of the river of Xyló-kastro.

Under Zýria, in a lofty situation, is seen the town of Tríkkala. At the opening of the valley we are met by the horses sent for us by the Notaréi. Pass a pyrgo and zevgaláti belonging to one of them. At 8.30, leaving on the left the valley, which is now narrow, we ascend the rugged hills to the right; the road very bad: towards the summit of the ridge the ground is more even. At 8.57 some Hellenic foundations occur in the road. At 9.25, being just below the village of Zugrá, I observe some fragments of a temple, or other public edifice, on the road side to the left: it was situated on a narrow precipitous ridge, which advances

from the main height of Zugrá towards the river. Among the fragments are those of a cornice and of a semicircular pilaster, the diameter of which is one foot two inches. Proceeding, at 9.30, along the eastern side of the height of Zugrá, I arrive, at 9.42, at some other ancient foundations. At 9.50, a little beyond a fountain on the road side, there is a small catacomb cut in the side of the rocky hill. Three or four minutes beyond this are more extensive remains; in some places three or four courses of regular masonry still subsist: the place is called Portes (the Gates), the catacomb Furno (the Oven).

From the Furno I ascend to the summit of the height of Zugrá, where I find the remains of a large ancient city,—doubtless *Pellene*; for Strabo<sup>a</sup> and Pausanias<sup>b</sup> agree in placing the Pellenæa next to the Sicyonia westward; and in shewing, that the city stood at a distance of sixty stades from the sea, in a strong and lofty situation. Apollonius<sup>c</sup> also has exactly described this position when he says, that Pellene stood on the brows of Ægialus: ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν Αἰγιαλοῖο. The distance of sixty stades from the sea will agree very well with our two hours and a third,

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 386.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Achaic. c. 26.

<sup>c</sup> Apollon. Argon. l. 1. v.



making some allowance in time for the rugged ascent.

*Parnassus*, *Helicon*, *Cithæron*, and *Geraneia* are seen from hence, and *Cyllene* occupies all the horizon to the southward. The hill or ridge of Pellene has a direction nearly north and south. Toward the southern end of it are some foundations mixed with plain columns. On the middle and highest summit of the hill I trace the foundations of a small inclosure, or citadel, within which is a piece of fluted Doric column, a foot and a half in diameter; and on the eastern side of the hill, below it, some other pieces of the same columns, near which lie those of a plain Doric frieze—the triglyphs one foot seven inches and a half in width. Northward of the Acropolis there are many foundations round a single tree, together with the ruin of a circular building, thirty-two feet in diameter: the masonry of the foundation is of a very regular Hellenic kind,—the upper part of rough materials and tiles. Other remains are scattered over the heights in this quarter; but there is no building clearly traceable. To the east the hill of Zugrá slopes to the precipices and steep declivities which overhang the river of Xyló-kastro. Zugrá is a hamlet of ten houses, standing on this face of the height, just under the northern end

of the ruins. The site of the ruins is called Tzerkoví<sup>a</sup>.

Pausanias remarks<sup>b</sup>, that “the Pellenenses bordered on the Ægeirataë, and were the last of the Achaians towards Sicyon and the Argolis; that between Ægeira and Pellene there was a small town<sup>c</sup>, called Donusa, which had formerly been conquered and destroyed by the Sicyonii, and that it was said to be the same place mentioned by Homer in the Catalogue,—

Οἱ δ' Ὑπερησίν τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Δονόεσσαν,  
Πελλήνην τ' εἶχον . . . .

but that the name had been negligently altered [into *Γονόεσσα*] by Pisistratus, or some of those who assisted him, when he collected the poems of Homer from the records in which they were dispersed<sup>d</sup>. Aristonautæ,” Pausanias adds, “was a haven of the Pellenenses, to which there was a road along the sea of 120 stades from Ægeira. From thence to Pellene was half that distance. The city was placed on a hill, the summit of which was acute, and, from this cause, uninhabited: the town was divided into two parts, situated below the summit on either side. On the road [from Aristonautæ] to Pellene there

<sup>a</sup> Τζερκοβί.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Achaic.c. 26, 27.

<sup>c</sup> πόλισμα.

<sup>d</sup> ἥν.κα ἔπη τὰ Ὀμήρου διασπασμένα τε καὶ ἀλλαχού μνημονεύόμενα ἠθροίζετο.

was a statue of Hermes surnamed Dolius, of a square form, bearded, and having a hat<sup>a</sup> on the head. In the same road, and near the city, there was a temple of Minerva, built of the stone produced in the country<sup>b</sup>; it contained a statue of ivory and gold, which, according to the Pellenenses, was made by Phidias, and was an earlier work of that artist than either the statue of Minerva in the Acropolis of Athens or that at Platææ. They affirmed also, that there was an adytum sacred to Minerva<sup>c</sup> under the basis of the statue, and that the air rising from thence, being moist, preserved the ivory<sup>d</sup>. Above the temple of Minerva there was a grove<sup>e</sup>, surrounded with a wall, sacred to Diana Soteira, and, opposite to it, the temple of Bacchus Lampter: at his festival, called Lampteria, torches were brought into the temple at night, and bowls of wine were placed in various parts of the city. Pellene contained also a temple of Apollo Theoxenius,

<sup>a</sup> πῖλος.

<sup>b</sup> λίθον ἐπιχωρίον.

<sup>c</sup> ἄδυτον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

<sup>d</sup> It was for a similar purpose that the chryselephantine statue of Æsculapius at the Hierum of Epidauria was placed over a well, and that on the pavement of the Parthe-

non below the statue, there was a receptacle for water. At Olympia, where the situation was very humid, it was found necessary to fill a similar receptacle with oil instead of water.—Pausan. Eliac. pr. c. 11.

<sup>e</sup> ἄλοςος.

with a statue of the god in brass; and there was a contest, called the Theoxenia, in which the natives contended for a prize of money<sup>a</sup>. Near the temple of Apollo was that of Diana, whose statue was represented drawing the bow<sup>b</sup>. In the Agora there was a fountain supplied by a conduit; for the sources below the town, at the place called Glyceiæ, were not plentiful. For washing<sup>c</sup>, they employed rain water<sup>d</sup>. The Gymnasium, destined to the exercise of the ephebi, contained a statue in stone of a native, named Promachus son of Dryon; to whom the Pellenenses had also raised a statue in brass at Olympia.

The lesser quarter of Pellene contained a temple of Lucina<sup>e</sup>. Below the Gymnasium was the Posidium, formerly a demus; though deserted, it was still held sacred to Neptune. Sixty stades distant from Pellene was the Mysæum, and a little beyond it Cyrus: in either place were copious fountains. At Mysæum a festival of seven days was celebrated in a grove of trees in honour of Ceres, to whom the place was sacred. At Cyrus there was a sanctuary of Æsculapius, where suppliants were

<sup>a</sup> ἀργύριον.<sup>b</sup> τοξευούση.<sup>c</sup> λουτρά.<sup>d</sup> ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.<sup>e</sup> Εἰληθείας.

cured : at the principal fountain stood a statue of Æsculapius.

To the westward of the site of Pellene the ridge descends suddenly to another stream, called Fónissa, which rises in the northern part of Mount Zýria, and flows in the direction of Mount Koryí<sup>a</sup>, a high insulated peak, very conspicuous from every part of the gulf,—probably the αἰπεινὴ Γονόεσσα of Homer. On its summit stands a ruined church of Panaghía Spiliótissa. The river Fónissa, after making a half circle to the west of this hill, joins the sea near Kamári.

Having returned from the summit of the ridge to the Portes, I proceed at 11.23, and follow the crest of a height between the two rivers ; it is a continuation of the ridge of *Pellene*. At 12 $\frac{1}{4}$  a high precipitous mountain, branching northward from the northern end of Zýria, and called Mavrióro, is four or five miles on the right, covered with firs and snow. This is probably the ancient Chelydorea, to which Pausanias refers in his *Arcadics*, when he remarks that the Pheneatice bordered upon two of the districts of Achaia, those of Ægeira and Pellene, and that its boundaries towards the latter were at a place near Mount

<sup>a</sup> Κορυφή.



Cyllene, called Porinas, and likewise in the mountain Chelydorea, of which the greater part belonged to the province of Achaia, that is to say, to the Pellenenses. Chelydorea received its name from the tortoise which Mercury was said to have found here, and converted into a lyre <sup>a</sup>.

At 12.20 we begin to ascend the steep slopes upon which Tríkkala is situated. The town is divided into three quarters <sup>b</sup>, called Apáno, Meso, and Kato. At 12.43 we arrive at the Lower, and, proceeding a quarter of an hour higher, alight in Meso Makhalá, at the house of Dr. Notará, where he and his two brothers, with their families, all reside in the same pyrgo. They are sons of the Gorgondá Notará, with whom Chandler lodged at Corinth. The eldest still occupies the family-house in that town. Panútzo, the second, is not married; he is modest, amiable, religious, and a good Hellenic scholar, and having neither art nor activity enough to fill the situation of Hodjá-bashi, has resigned that honour to his younger brother Sotiráki, who is better adapted to such an office. Panútzo has a library in a room which he has built adjoining to his brother's pyrgo, and which serves for a dining-room for the family. His books are chiefly of medicine and divinity,

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 15. 17.

<sup>b</sup> μαχαλάδες.

and there is but a poor collection of classics; it is, however, the only attempt at a private library that I have met with in Greece.

The slopes of the hills on either side of the river of Xyló-kastro, from the foot of Mount *Cyllene* to the sea, form the most valuable part of the district of Tríkkala; as they formerly did that of *Pellene*. They produce good corn, but with a return of not more than seven or eight to one. In some places the springs with which they abound feed channels of irrigation for fields of árabo-siti. The branch of the river which flows from Mount Zýria through Tríkkala, is a white muddy torrent falling in cascades over the rocks: the main stream rises between Ghymno-vúni and Zýria, in a valley called Flamborítza, which belongs to the Notaréi, and supplies excellent pasture in summer. On the other side of Ghymno-vúni is the plain of *Stymphalus*. Panútzo says that there is a theatre at *Stymphalus* cut in the rock, which is under water at this season, but visible in summer. He does not pretend however, that he has seen it; nor can I comprehend whereabouts it can be. He states also that there are two peaks at the summit of Mount Zýria, on one of which is a church of St. Elias, and on the other some foundations of the temple of Mercury Cyllenius. The houses of Tríkkala are much dispersed

among gardens, which are well watered by numerous rills from the mountain, and produce apples, plums, and cherries, in great plenty, but the fruit is not very good, as no pains are ever taken to improve its quality by ingrafting, or by new stocks from other places.

April 19.—Ride up, and employ the morning in making observations from the highest point, immediately above Tríkkala, called Varnevó, which commands a fine view of the eastern part of the *Corinthiac* gulf, with parts of those of *Argos* and *Ægina*, though, unfortunately for my purpose, neither *Larissa* (the castle of *Argos*) nor the *Acro-Corinthus* are visible. Some of the hills of the *Phliasia* hide the latter from view, and Mount Mavrióro impedes the view to the westward.

I cannot discover or hear of any remains in this vicinity, that will answer to *Mysæum* and *Cyrus*. Tríkkala itself, though corresponding to them by its abundance of water, is too near to Pellene, being not more than half the sixty stades of Pausanias. It is evident, however, that they were in some part of the adjacent mountains, for the distance aforesaid can only be measured inland from the site of Pellene, that place being itself not more than sixty stades from the sea. The valley of Flamborítza seems the most probable situation.

*Olurus*, a small town, or maritime castle, belonging to *Pellene*<sup>a</sup>, was probably at Xyló-kastro; which, standing at the entrance of the gorge leading from the maritime plain into the *Pellenæa*, was a position of great importance to the safety of that district. Though Xyló-kastro is now only a small hamlet, inhabited by the cultivators of the plain, and containing no remains of antiquity, the name seems to indicate that a fortress once occupied the site.

April 20.—From Tríkkala to Vasiliká. The road, in order to avoid the abrupt descent to the main branch of the Xyló-kastro river, and the ascent from its right bank, makes a detour by the foot of the Ghymno-vúni. Here it traverses the lower part of the pine forests, which, in direct contradiction to the name of the mountain, cover the lower part of it. After passing many rivulets and copious springs, we arrive at Márkasi, a small village, standing opposite to Tríkkala on the right side of the great glen of the Xyló-kastro river, and about three miles distant in a straight line from Tríkkala. From Márkasi we continue to ascend the heights obliquely, chiefly through pine woods: at the hamlet of Ghelíni, which stands on the edge of the great acclivity, we enter an elevated level,

<sup>a</sup> Xenoph. l. 7. c. 4.—Plin. in "Ολουρος.  
H. N. l. 4. c. 6.—Stephan.

where the soil, unlike that of the district of *Pellene*, is red ; there are many oaks dispersed over the plain, which is tolerably well cultivated, though the soil is by no means fertile. Beyond this elevated tract, which towards Ghymnovúni is bordered by pine forests, we descend into the valley of Késari, in which the waters run to the right, and form a small lake discharged by a katavóthra, the issue of which is probably the fountain of *Stymphalus*, for over the same extremity of the vale I perceive Mount *Apelaurum* in face of *Stymphalus*, at the foot of which are the *Stymphalian zerethra* ; thus the two katavóthra and the intermediate fountain lie nearly in a line. *Apelaurum* is here called Mermingó-longo <sup>a</sup>, or Ant-forest. To the left of it appears Mount Armeniá, and a part of the range of *Artemisium*.

On the hill forming the western side of the valley into which we descend, stands the village of Késari <sup>b</sup>, with a large white pyrgo ; this we leave on the right at some distance, and nearer, in the same direction, another village, Kleméndi <sup>c</sup> ; we then cross the northern end of the valley, which is narrow in this part. Left Trík-

<sup>a</sup> Μερμινγγόλογγος.

<sup>b</sup> Κέσαρι or Καίσαρι.

<sup>c</sup> Κλεμέντι. It would seem

as if these names were the remains of some ancient record of Cæsarian clemency.



kala at 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ , passed Márkasi at 11, Ghelíni at 12.10, and Kleméendi at 1.

After a halt of ten minutes on the ascent of the eastern side of the valley of Késari, we turn to the left, and from the summit of the mountain enjoy a fine prospect of the *Isthmus*, with a part of the gulf of 'Eghina. The ridge is covered with a mixture of pines and oaks, through which we descend in the direction of *Sicyon*, until we arrive upon broken clayey ground like that near Xylókastro. At 2.25, on the descent, I observe fragments of ancient pottery in the gullies by the road-side, and, on a neighbouring eminence to the right, some Hellenic foundations: soon afterwards descend into the valley of the stream which joins the sea on the western side of *Sicyon*, and which takes its rise at no great distance above the place where we cross it. In this valley, at 2.50, pass some Hellenic foundations; at 2.56, some mills are on the right, worked by a derivation from the stream. Soon afterwards ascend the steep side of the hill of *Sicyon*, and arrive at the theatre at 3.15. As we ascended, I observed below, on either bank of the river, some heaps of ruins and squared blocks of stone.

April 21.—At 9.10 descend from the village of Vasiliká by a rugged road through an open-

ing in the cliffs on the northern side of the hill of *Sicyon*. On the descent there is a fine fountain ; the road then bends to the right, and at the bottom crosses a river, the ancient *Asopus*, which is now a large stream, but in summer is dry : 9.38, *Ibrahim Bey*, a village and large *pyrgo* belonging to *Nuri Bey* are on the right ; many other small villages are seen in the plain, which, as formerly, is planted in many parts with olives <sup>a</sup>, and still preserves its ancient agricultural riches <sup>b</sup>, in proportion at least to the general desolation. In natural fertility, however, it is not to be compared to *Elis* or *Messenia* ; the best part is that immediately around *Sicyon*. The soil of the remainder, like that of *Zákytho* and a large portion of *Achaia*, is a white argillaceous substance, corrected perhaps by a mixture of calcareous matter. It is more adapted I believe to olives and vines, particularly the currant, than to grain which is better produced in some of the hilly parts of *Achaia*, or in the richer plains of *Patræ*, *Dyme*, and *Elis*. At 10.45, in the middle

<sup>a</sup> *Oliviferæ Sicyonis*.—Stat. Theb. l. 4. v. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐν ἡμοῖς τὰ μετὰ ξὺν Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος.—Adag. Græc.—  
Aristoph. Av. v. 969.—P. 27. c. 31.—Πῶς ἂν πλουτήσαι-  
μι, Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱεῖ ; χλευά-  
ζων ἀπεκρίνατο, εἰ τὸ μέσον κτή-  
σαιο Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος.  
Athen. l. 5. c. 19.

Sulpicius, ab Naupacto profectus, classem adpulit inter Sicyonem et Corinthum, agrumque nobilissimæ fertilitatis effusè vastavit. Liv. l.

of the olive plantations of Vokha, as the plain is now called, we cross a small river, probably the *Nemea*<sup>a</sup>, which anciently formed the boundary of the Corinthia and Sicyonia; and at 11.5 another stream, called the Longo Potamó; soon afterwards we pass another branch of the same, —and at 11.36 enter Corinth. Though with post-horses our pace from *Sicyon* has been slow, on account of the muddy roads and the nature of the soil, which after rain resembles soap.

<sup>a</sup> Androstheneſ, Corintho profectus, ad Nemeam (amnis eſt Corinthium et Sicyonium interfluens agrum) caſtra locat. Liv. l. 33. c. 15.—παρὰ

τὸν Νεμέαν ποταμὸν. Diod. Sic. l. 14. c. 83.—Ὁρίξει δὲ τὴν Σικυωνίαν καὶ τὴν Κορινθίαν ποταμὸς Νεμέα. Strabo, p. 382.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### CORINTHIA.

Corinth and its two ports.—Ancient descriptions of the city by Strabo and Pausanias.—Existing monuments.—Long Walls.—Description of CORINTH by Wheler.—District of CORINTH.—An ancient PERISTOMIUM.

FROM the remotest period of Grecian history to the Roman conquest, Corinth maintained, with a very small territory, the highest rank among the states of Greece. In the meridian ages she was surpassed by some other cities, but was pre-eminent in the dawn as well as in the decline of independent Greece. Hers was the earliest school of policy and the arts, and she was the last to resist the ambition of Rome. The numerous colonies sent forth under Corinthian leaders are proofs of her power, populousness, and civilization, long before Athens or Sparta had assumed a superiority among the states of Greece. By the peculiarity of her position, Corinth became the centre of commercial intercourse between Europe and Asia, the chief port for the exchange of commodities between Greece and foreign nations, and the most frequented point of communication between the

different parts of Greece itself. The multitude which flocked at the end of every third year to the Isthmian games was an additional source of wealth, so that the public revenue was proportionally greater than that of any of the states of Greece<sup>a</sup>. It was in the period between the decline of Argos and the rise of Athens, when the public power and riches were concentrated in the persons of the Bacchiadæ and Eetionidæ, that Corinth was in the height of its splendour, but the same local advantages continued to maintain the republic in a high secondary station, until it became the head of that confederacy which, at length, was the only barrier opposed by independent Greece to the conquering arms of Rome.

It is not surprising therefore, that when the Romans, tempted by the riches, provoked by the imprudent insolence of some of the citizens of Corinth, and encouraged by the treachery of others<sup>b</sup>, succeeded in reducing the Achaian league to submission, their conquest of Corinth should have been followed by its pillage and destruction. The best part of the Corinthia was then given to Sicyon, and so complete was the ruin of the city, that the site was deserted for many years; serving only during that time

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 378.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Achaic. c. 1. et seq.



to supply antiquities and works of art to Rome, where a taste for such objects was first strongly excited by the abundance and beauty of those found in the plunder and among the ruins of Corinth. A hundred and two years after the conquest by Mummius, Corinth was revived by Julius Cæsar<sup>a</sup>, who at the same time restored Carthage. He repeopled Corinth with Roman freedmen, mixed with Greeks from various quarters, and conferred upon it all the privileges of a Roman colony. When visited, about two centuries afterwards, by Pausanias, it preserved a larger share of its former magnificence than could have been expected after such calamities as it had undergone<sup>b</sup>.

The commanding situation, which gave so much distinction to the narrow territory of Corinth among the republics of Greece, although not of the same consequence in modern times,

<sup>a</sup> B. C. 44. Strabo, p. 381.—Pausan. l. 2. c. 1, 2.—The words of Strabo are: Πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ἐξήμη μείνασαι ἡ Κόρινθος, ἀνελήφθη πάλιν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, &c.—Those of Pausanias are not less explicit as to the desolation of Corinth: Κόρινθον δὲ οἰκοῦσι Κορινθίων οὐδεὶς ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἔποικοι δὲ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.—Nevertheless, the site, I conceive, cannot have been quite uninhabited,

as the Romans neither destroyed the public buildings, nor persecuted the religion of the Corinthians. And as many of those buildings were still perfect in the time of Pausanias, there must have been some persons who had the care of them during the century of desolation.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo, p. 378, et seq.—p. 833.—Pausan. l. 2. c. 1. et seq.—Athen. l. 2. c. 5.

would be sufficient perhaps to make Corinth the capital, should Greece be ever united into one national body. Independently of those advantages, military and commercial, which it derives from a proximity both to the Adriatic and Ægæan branches of the Mediterranean, and from its occupying the communication between Peloponnesus and northern Greece, Corinth possesses some of the peculiarities which recommend Athens and Argos, in a greater degree than either. In the abundance of water for which it was anciently so justly renowned<sup>a</sup>, it has a superiority over those cities, very important in such a climate. The Acro-Corinthus is a stronger and more commanding position than either the Acropolis or the Larissa; Lechæum, though devoid of the natural strength of Munychia or of Nauplia, yet, as lying at one third of the distance of those ports from their respective cities, is more convenient to commerce and more easily brought within a system of military protection: while the ports of the Corinthia on the Saronic Gulf, which, with the exception of Cenchreïæ, were probably considered by the ancients less commodious than the land-locked harbour of Athens, are scarcely

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 379.—Pausan. l. 2. c. 3. εὐδρον ἄστυ.—Simonides ap. Dion. Chrysost.

Or. 37.—Arx scatens fontibus. Liv. l. 45. c. 28.

inferior to the latter in their aptitude to modern navigation.

Pausanias, before he begins to describe the city of Corinth, speaks in the following terms of Lechæum, of the road which led from the Isthmic Posidonium to Cenchreïæ, of Cenchreïæ itself, and of the objects on the road from Cenchreïæ to Corinth. “Leches and Cenchrias, the reputed sons of Neptune by Peirene, daughter of Achelous, gave name,” he says <sup>a</sup>, “to the two ports of the Corinthians. In Lechæum there is a temple of Neptune with a brazen statue. In the road from the Isthmus to Cenchreïæ there occurs a temple of Diana, containing an ancient statue made of wood. In Cenchreïæ there is a temple of Venus with a statue of stone, and near it, upon a rock in the sea, a brazen Neptune. On the other projection of the port are temples of Æsculapius and of Isis. Over against Cenchreïæ is the bath of Helene. This is an abundant source of salt water, slightly warm, flowing from a rock into the sea <sup>b</sup>. On the road ascending [from Cenchreïæ] to Corinth there are several sepulchral monuments;

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν δὲ Κεγχρεΐαις Ἀφροδίτης τέ ἐστι ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου· μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ, ἐπὶ τῷ ρεύματι τῷ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης, Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔτερον πέρας

τοῦ λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἰσίδος ἱερὰ· Κεγχρεΐων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τὸ Ἑλένης ἐστὶ λουτρόν. ὕδωρ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκ πέτρας ρεῖ πολὺ καὶ ἄλμυρὸν ὕδατι ὅμοιον ἀρχομένῳ θερμαίνεσθαι.

near the gate is that of Diogenes of Sinope, whom the Greeks surname the Dog. There are also near the city a grove of cypresses named Craneium <sup>a</sup>, the sacred portion <sup>b</sup> of Bellerophon-tes, a temple of Venus Melanis, and the tomb of Lais, on which is the figure of a lioness holding a ram between her fore feet.”

The position of Lechæum is indicated by a height on the coast opposite to the middle of the modern town of Corinth : a lagoon adjacent to it may perhaps be the remains of the port, which was probably for the most part artificial, and was therefore more easily filled up by the effects of neglect, and by that accumulation of soil which, in the course of fifteen centuries, has changed the face of many of the level shores of Greece.

Cenchreiæ is not richer in vestiges of antiquity than Lechæum, but it retains its ancient name, in the usual form of the modern accusative case, with the loss only of the  $\gamma$ , *Κεχρηαῖς*. One part of the description of the place by Pausanias is curiously illustrated, and his text at the same time amended, by an existing colonial

<sup>a</sup> In a civil contest at Corinth [B. C. 393] one of the parties took refuge in the Craneium, and from thence

escaped into the Acro-Corinthus. Xenoph. Hell. l. 4. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ.

coin of Corinth of the time of Antoninus Pius<sup>a</sup>. On the obverse, the port of Cenchreiæ is represented as inclosed between two promontories; on each of which stands a temple. In the sea at the entrance of the port there is a statue of Neptune, holding a trident in one hand and a dolphin in the other. Comparing this representation with the passage of Pausanias, which is cited at length in a preceding note, it appears probable that the word used by him was not *ρεύματι* but *ἔρματι* "rock", though some further correction in the words *διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης* seems still to be required. Hence also it appears, that the temple of Venus stood on one of the promontories, a fact which is not very clearly indicated by the words of Pausanias.

The bath of Helene is found at a mile to the southward of the port of Kekhriés, near a cape forming the termination of the ridge which borders the *Isthmus* on the south, and which, at the western end, is separated from the *Acrocorinthus* by a ravine watered by a small river. The cape separates the bay of Kekhriés from that which takes its name of Galatáki from a village near the shore. The water of the *bath of Helene* rises at such a height and distance

<sup>a</sup> Millingen, *Recueil de inédites: Rome, 1812.*  
quelques médailles Grecques



above the sea, that it serves to turn a mill in its passage. The water is tepid as Pausanias has remarked.

The description of Corinth by Strabo is valuable, as it was one of the places, (perhaps one of the few places in Greece,) which he visited in person. "Its situation", he says<sup>a</sup>, "as it is described by Hieronymus, Eudoxus, and others, and as we ourselves saw it soon after its restoration by the Romans, is as follows. A lofty mountain, named Acro-Corinthus, rises three stades in perpendicular height, with an ascent by the road of thirty stades. It terminates in an acute vertex, and is most steep on the northern side, under which a level tableland is occupied by the city. The city was forty stades in circuit, and was surrounded by a wall in every part where it is not covered by the mountain. The Acro-Corinthus was comprehended within the same inclosure, and was encompassed by it in every part except where the mountain was incapable of receiving a wall. On the ascent we observed the remains of the ancient line of fortification, so that it appeared that the entire circumference of the city was about eighty-five stades. In other parts the mountain is less precipitous, though it rises everywhere to a great height and is conspicu-

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 379.

ous on all sides. There is a small temple of Venus on the summit, and beneath the summit is the fountain Peirene, which does not flow, but remains always full of sweet and pellucid water. It is said, that from this fountain and some subterraneous veins, the sources are fed which run from the foot of the mountain through the city, and supply it with a sufficiency of water. There is also an abundance of wells <sup>a</sup> in the city, and, as it is said, in the Acro-Corinthus also, though we did not see any. Below the Peirene are considerable remains of the Sisyphæum, a certain temple or palace built of white marble.”

Pausanias begins his account of Corinth with the gate of Cenchreïæ, between which and the Agora he has not noticed any object. His description may be divided into four parts: 1. The Agora. 2. The street leading to Lechæum. 3. The street leading to Sicyon. 4. The ascent to the Acrocorinthus, followed by a description of that fortress <sup>b</sup>.

In the Agora stood a Diana Ephesia,—two wooden statues of Bacchus <sup>c</sup>, one surnamed Lysius, the other Baccheius; they were covered with gilding, except the faces, which were painted red;—a temple of Fortune with an up-

<sup>a</sup> φρεάτων.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 2, 3, 4, 5.

<sup>c</sup> Διόνυσος.

right statue of Parian marble,—a temple sacred to all the Gods,—near the latter a fountain <sup>a</sup> issuing from the mouth of a dolphin at the feet of a brazen Neptune, and a statue of Apollo Clarius in brass,—a statue of Venus by Hermogenes of Cythera,—two brazen upright statues of Hermes, one of them in a temple, the other in the open air <sup>b</sup>,—three statues of Jupiter in the open air, one called Chthonius, another Hypsistus, the other without any surname. In the middle of the Agora there was a Minerva of brass, on the basis of which were figures of the Muses in relief. Above the Agora <sup>c</sup> stood a temple sacred to Octavia, sister of Augustus. On the side of the Agora leading to Lechæum were Propylæa, upon which stood two gilded chariots, one bearing Phaethon and the other the Sun. A little beyond the Propylæa, to the right of the road, stood a brazen Hercules, near which was the entrance to the fountain Peirene <sup>d</sup>. The sources were adorned with white marble, and the water, which was excellent for drinking <sup>e</sup>, flowed from some apartments resembling caverns into an open receptacle <sup>f</sup>. Here also there was a statue of Apollo in an inclosure, which contained a picture of Ulysses punishing the suitors of Penelope. In continuing to follow

<sup>a</sup> κρήνη.<sup>b</sup> ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ.<sup>d</sup> πηγῇ.<sup>e</sup> πικρὴν ἢ δὴ.<sup>c</sup> ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀγορὰν.<sup>f</sup> εἰς κρήνην ὑπαίθρον.

the street leading to Lechæum, there occurred a seated Hermes in brass, with a ram standing beside him, to indicate that Hermes is the deity who chiefly presides over flocks; not far from it were a Neptune, a Leucothea, and a Palæmon upon a dolphin. Near the statue of Neptune <sup>a</sup> were baths constructed by the Spartan Eurycles, and adorned by him with various marbles, particularly with that of Croceæ in Laconia <sup>b</sup>. This was the most sumptuous bath in Corinth, although baths were numerous in the city in consequence of the abundance of fountains <sup>c</sup>, derived either from native sources or from the aqueduct of Stymphalus constructed by Hadrian, who had built also one of the baths in Corinth. On the left hand of the entrance into the bath of Eurycles stood a statue of Neptune, and near it a Diana represented as engaged in the chace <sup>d</sup>. Beyond the latter was the most remarkable of all the fountains <sup>e</sup> of Corinth; it was surmounted with a (brazen) statue of Bellerophontes mounted on Pegasus; the water flowed through the hoof of the horse.

<sup>a</sup> πλεσιόν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος.

<sup>b</sup> Eurycles governed Laconia under Augustus [Strabo, pp. 363. 366]: coins of the Lacedæmonians in brass, with the legend ΕΠΙ ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΟΥΣ,

are common. Respecting Croceæ and Eurycles, see Pausan. Lacon. c. 21, and Chapters VI. VII. of this work.

<sup>c</sup> κρήναι.

<sup>d</sup> θηρεύουσα.

<sup>e</sup> κρήναι.

On the right of the street leading from the Agora to Sicyon stood the temple of Apollo, containing a brazen statue of the god; a little farther was the fountain <sup>a</sup> of Glauce. Above <sup>b</sup> this was the Odeium <sup>c</sup>, and near it the monument of Mermerus and Pheres, sons of Medeia, upon which stood a statue of Terror <sup>d</sup> represented as a woman. Not far from this monument was the temple of Minerva Chalinitis, so called because Minerva, among other benefits conferred upon Bellerophontes, gave him the horse Pegasus, broke in the horse herself, and put the bridle upon him <sup>e</sup>. The statue in this temple was made of wood, with the face, hands, and feet of white marble. The theatre was not far from the temple of Minerva, and contained a naked Hercules of wood, said to have been made by Dædalus <sup>f</sup>. Above <sup>g</sup> the theatre was the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Capetolius, a word equivalent to Coryphæus in Greek; and

<sup>a</sup> κρήνη.<sup>b</sup> ὑπὲρ.

by T. C. Atticus Herodes.

<sup>c</sup> This appears to be the roofed theatre, [θέατρον ὑπω-  
ρόφιον,] mentioned by Philo-  
stratus as having been built

He adds, that it was very inferior to that which the same Herodes built at Athens.

<sup>d</sup> Δεῖμα.<sup>e</sup> χειρωσαμένη καὶ ἐνθεῖσα αὐτὴ τῷ ἵππῳ χαλινόν.

—χρυσάμπυκα κου-

ρὰ χαλινόν Παλλὰς ἤνεγκε. Pindar. Ol. 13. v. 92.

<sup>f</sup> Pausanias adds, that there was something divine, ἐνθεόν τι, in the works of Dædalus, al-though they were rude (ἀτο-  
πώτερα ἐς τὴν ὄψιν).<sup>g</sup> ὑπὲρ.



not far from the theatre the ancient Gymnasium<sup>a</sup>,—then the source of water called Lerna, which was surrounded with columns and seats, furnishing a cool retreat in the heat of summer; and temples of Jupiter and of Æsculapius, the former containing a brazen statue of Jupiter, the latter an Æsculapius and a Hygieia of white marble. In the ascent to the Acrocorinthus there were two sacred portions<sup>b</sup> of Isis—one of Isis Pelagia, the other of Isis Ægyptia; and two others of Sarapis, in one of which he was sur-named “in Canobus”<sup>c</sup>. Beyond these were some altars of the Sun, and a sanctuary of Ne-cessity and Force<sup>d</sup>, into which it was unlawful to enter. Above this stood a temple of the Mother of the Gods, containing a pillar and a throne<sup>e</sup>, both made of stone. In a temple sacred to the Fates, to Ceres, and to Proserpine, there were not any statues visible<sup>f</sup>. Here was the temple of Juno Bunæa, so called from its reputed founder, Bunus, son of Mercury. On the summit of the Acro-Corinthus there was a temple of Venus, containing statues of the god-

<sup>a</sup> The words are, τοῦ θεά-  
τρου δέ ἐστι τοῦδε πόρρω γυμνάσιον  
τὸ ἀρχαῖον. One can hardly  
doubt that Pausanias wrote  
οὐ πόρρω, and that the Gym-  
nasium was not far from the  
theatre.

<sup>b</sup> τεμένη. <sup>c</sup> ἐν Κανώβῳ.

<sup>d</sup> Ἀνάγκης καὶ Βίας ἱερόν.

<sup>e</sup> Μητρὺς Θεῶν ναὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ  
στήλη καὶ θρόνος.

<sup>f</sup> οὐ φανερὰ ἔχουσι τὰ ἀγάλ-  
ματα.

dess in armour, of the Sun, and of Love bearing a bow. Behind the temple there was a source of water, said to have been the same as that of Peirene in the city, to which it was supposed to descend underground.

Upon comparing the two descriptions of ancient Corinth, by Strabo and Pausanias, it is remarkable, that although both agree in regard to the reported communication between the well of the Acro-Corinthus and the fountain Peirene of the lower city, they differ as to the position of that lower fountain. Pausanias describes it on the road from the Agora to Lechæum, Strabo as issuing from the foot of the Acro-Corinthus; and thus it appears that there were three sources at Corinth, all which, at some period of time at least, were known by the name of Peirene. All the three are still observable; namely, the well in the Acro-Corinthus, the rivulets which issue at the foot of that hill, as described by Strabo, and the single source below the brow of the height on which the town is situated, in the position alluded to by Pausanias.

It is not difficult to imagine, that between the times of Strabo and Pausanias a change may have taken place in the application of the name Peirene in the lower city, in consequence of the water of the northern fountain having

been found by experience better than that of the sources at the foot of the Acro-Corinthus. The practice of the modern Corinthians gives countenance to this supposition ; for they use the former fountain alone for drinking, while the water which issues from below the Acro-Corinthus, instead of being thought the lightest in Greece, as Athenæus describes that of Peirene <sup>a</sup>, is considered heavy <sup>b</sup>; the water is little used for drinking, and the springs are the constant resort of women washing clothes. As the remark of Athenæus is nearly of the same date as the description of Pausanias, it is fair to apply them both to the same source of water. It appears that the new Corinthians, after the visit of Strabo, which was about fifty years posterior to their re-establishment, adopted Roman refinement on the subject of water so thoroughly, that, not contented with Peirene, or with Lerna, which sometimes was preferred to Peirene <sup>c</sup>, or with any of their wells or other sources, they at length prevailed upon the Emperor Hadrian to construct an aqueduct twenty miles in length, in order to bring water for them from Stymphalus.

<sup>a</sup> Σταθμήσας τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ Πειρήνης καλουμένης ὕδατος κουφύτερον πάντων ὕδατων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Athen. l. 2. c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> βαρὺ.

<sup>c</sup> . . . λόγος ἐγένετο ποῖον ὑδάτων ἡδιστόν ἐστιν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐγκομιαζόντων τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρνης, ἄλλων δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Πειρήνης, &c. Athen. l. 4. c. 14.

Pausanias divides the objects of curiosity at Corinth into such as belonged to the ancient Greek city, and those which were constructed by the Roman colony<sup>a</sup>. He does not distinguish them all, but we may include among the latter the temple of Jupiter Capetolius, the temple of Octavia, the Odeium, the sanctuaries of Isis and Sarapis, the baths of Eurycles, and the aqueduct of Hadrian.

There still exist the ruins of two buildings of Roman Corinth, and the remains also of two of the principal temples of the ancient city.

The Roman remains are :—1st. A large mass of brick work on the northern side of the bazár of modern Corinth, perhaps a part of one of the baths built by Hadrian ; Wheler seems to have found it in 1676 nearly in its present state : 2dly. An amphitheatre, which that traveller did not see : it is excavated in the rock on the eastern side of the modern town, not far from the left bank of the torrent which I have already mentioned as separating the Acro-Corinthus from the heights to the eastward. As this amphitheatre is not noticed by Pausanias, it is possibly a work posterior to his time. The area below is 290 feet by 190 : the thickness of the

<sup>a</sup> Λόγου δὲ ἄξια ἐν τῇ πόλει  
τὰ μὲν λειπόμενα ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων  
ἔστιν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ

ἀκμῆς ἐποιήθη τῆς ὕστερον. Pau-  
san. Corinth. c. 2.

remaining part of the cavea is 100 feet. Above this there was probably a superstructure of masonry supported upon arcades, but no remains of it are now to be seen. At one end of the amphitheatre are the remains of a subterraneous entrance for the wild beasts, or gladiators, who were to gratify the Roman taste of the colony of Corinth.

The ruins belonging to ancient Corinth are:—

1st. On the western outskirts of the modern town, remains of the peristyle of a Doric temple; it forms part of the inclosure of a house. There are now standing five fluted columns belonging to one of the fronts, and three (counting the angular column twice) belonging to one of the sides of the peristyle, making seven columns in all. Of these, the three columns of the side, and the two adjoining columns of the front, are complete, with their architraves in four pieces. Of the two remaining columns of the front, the capital of one is gone, and the architraves of both. The columns are five feet ten inches in diameter at the base; the shafts are formed of a single piece of limestone, covered with a coating of fine stucco, according to a common practice of the Greeks when the material was not of the hardest kind. When Wheler visited Corinth in 1676, there were twelve columns standing,



eleven of which preserved their architraves, and were “so placed”, he remarks, “as to shew that they formed a portico about the cella of a temple”; the twelfth column was of the same diameter as the others, but stood upon a higher level,—it was so situated, he adds, towards the western end within, as to prove that it had supported the roof of the pronaos. When Stuart designed this ruin, ninety years afterwards, it was in the same state; there were still four columns of the front remaining, and six of one of the sides, together with the column at the angle of the peristyle, and the column on a higher level, which Wheler supposed to have belonged to the pronaos, but which, being at the western end, belonged more probably to the posticum, as Greek temples generally faced the east. Some drawings of the same ruin, made about the year 1785, by Mayer, an artist employed by the British ambassador, Sir R. Ainslie, which have since been published, shew that between the visit of Stuart and that time the column of the posticum had fallen or had been removed. Not long afterwards four columns of the side, together with their three architraves, were thrown down, so that Mr. Hawkins, who visited the ruin in 1795, found it in its present state. The columns were demolished by the Turk whose house stands

upon the site, because they stood in the way of some new buildings which he was projecting.

The remains of this temple are not sufficient to enable us to ascertain its original length, the number of columns in the sides of Doric temples not having always the same proportion to the number in the front ; but there can be no doubt that it had six columns in front, and that it was about sixty-five feet in breadth, or nearly the same as that of the temple of Nemea : it was therefore of the middle class of hexastyles as to magnitude, the larger, such as those of Pæstum, Egesta, Syracuse, and Selinus, being about eighty feet ; the smaller class, to which belong the temples of Theseus, Jupiter Panhellenius, and Apollo Epicurius, being about forty-five feet in breadth.

2. At a short distance to the northward of this ruin, on the brow of the cliffs overlooking the plain and bay of Lechæum, there is an artificial level, on which I remarked the foundations of a large building, and some fragments of Doric columns, sufficient, I think, to prove that in this spot anciently stood another of the principal edifices of *Grecian* Corinth. It was apparently a temple of the usual plan, and of larger dimensions than that to which the extant columns belonged, for some fragments of shafts, probably not from the lowest part of the shaft,

are six feet three inches in diameter, and the chord of the fluting is twelve inches. It seems therefore to have been a hexastyle about seventy-five feet in breadth. The position of these two temples renders it probable that they were both in or near the street leading from the agora to the Gate of Sicyon. The last-mentioned, having stood on the brow of a line of cliffs, which bounded the city on the north, must have been to the right of the street. Its dimensions and its situation, which is one of the most beautiful and commanding in Greece, shew that it was one of the chief, or rather the principal temple of the lower city, most probably that of Apollo, which Pausanias describes as being on the right hand proceeding towards the gate of Sicyon; for as to the temple of Jupiter, the epithet of Capetolius evinces that it was a work of the Roman colony, of which period the remains of the building alluded to have no semblance. According to the Corinthian mythology, Neptune and the Sun having contended for the possession of the Corinthia, Briareus adjudged the Isthmus to Neptune, and the Acro-Corinthus to the Sun, who ceded it to Venus. The temple of Neptune was the chief building at the Isthmus, that of Venus occupied the summit of the Acro-Corinthus: the temple of Apollo, therefore, was probably the chief sacred building in the lower

town of Corinth. Of this, indeed, we derive a strong presumption from Herodotus <sup>a</sup>.

The temple of Jupiter Capetolius occupied, perhaps, a position on the edge of the cliffs to the westward of the temple of Apollo.

The seven columns which are still standing probably belonged to the temple of Minerva Chalinitis. The great antiquity of the statue of the goddess, as described by Pausanias, and her epithet and worship, connected with the favourite fable of Bellerophontes and Pegasus, one of the earliest and most celebrated events of the Corinthian mythology, are in perfect conformity with the appearance of remote antiquity displayed in the existing columns. We not only find in them the narrow intercolumniation, tapering shafts, projecting capitals, and lofty architraves, which are the attributes of the early Doric, and which were perpetuated in the architecture of the western colonies of Greece, but we find also that the chief characteristic of those buildings is still stronger in the Corinthian temple than in any of them, its shaft being shorter in proportion to the diameter than in any known example of the Doric order, and, unlike that of any other Doric column of large

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. l. 3. c. 52.

Periander issued an edict, that whoever should hold any

converse with his son Lycon, should pay a fine to Apollo.

dimensions, being composed of a single block of stone. Although no certainty can be obtained as to the date of this temple, I am inclined to think, when we consider the origin and history of the Doric order, and on comparing the peristyle of Corinth with the other most ancient temples, both of Greece Proper and of its western colonies, that the latest date to which it can be attributed is the middle of the seventh century before the Christian æra; but that it may be considerably more ancient<sup>a</sup>.

There were ruins of another very ancient building in the lower town of Corinth, in the time of Strabo, which seem to have disappeared before Pausanias travelled in Greece, as he makes no mention of it. Strabo describes the Sisyphæum as situated below Peirene<sup>b</sup>; he seems to have been doubtful with regard to its original use, but the manner in which he mentions its ruins shews its former magnitude; and its strength may be inferred from a circumstance mentioned by Diodorus. When Demetrius, son of Antigonus, was secretly admitted into the town by a party of the citizens, the garrison of Cassander took refuge partly in the

<sup>a</sup> See the additional note to this Chapter.

<sup>b</sup> ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ Πειρήνῃ τὸ Σισύφειόν ἐστιν, ἱεροῦ τινὸς ἢ βασιλείου

λευκολίθου πεποιημένου διασωζον ἐρείπια οὐκ ὀλίγα. Strabo, p. 379.



Sisypheium, and a part in the Acro-Corinthus. Demetrius, with great difficulty, and by the assistance of engines, obtained possession of the Sisypheium<sup>a</sup>, after which the garrison of the Acro-Corinthus surrendered. It might be doubted whether Strabo, in describing the position of the Sisypheium, with regard to Peirene, meant the fountain in the citadel, or that which issues from the foot of the Acro-Corinthus, but there seems little doubt from Diodorus, that the Sisypheium was in the lower city.

The table land at the foot of the Acro-Corinthus, which was occupied by the city of Corinth<sup>b</sup>, overlooks a lower level, extending along the sea-shore on one side to the Isthmus, and on the other to Sicyon. This lower level was traversed by two parallel walls, which connected Corinth with Lechæum<sup>c</sup>. Their length was twelve stades<sup>d</sup>; the distance between them was not great, for Strabo describes the walls as built “on either side of the road to Lechæum.”<sup>e</sup> On the other hand, it appears from a military

<sup>a</sup> προσαγαγὼν μηχανὰς τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι καὶ πολλὰ κακοπαθήσας εἴλετο τὸ Σισύφιον κατὰ κράτος. Diodor. Sic. l. 20. c. 103.

<sup>b</sup> κεῖται ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τραπεζώδους ἐπιπέδου χωρίου πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ρίζῃ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου. Strabo,

p. 379.

<sup>c</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 4. c. 4.—Id. in Agesil.

<sup>d</sup> Strabo, p. 380.

<sup>e</sup> ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς παρὰ τὸ Λεχαιον.

operation which took place in the second year of the Corinthiac war <sup>a</sup>, that they included a space considerably broader than that of an ordinary road. Praxitas the Lacedæmonian, who was stationed at Sicyon, was introduced into the Longomural inclosure by some Corinthians disaffected towards the Argives and their allies, who were then in possession of Corinth. Finding the space between the walls too wide to be effectually occupied by his troops, which consisted of a Lacedæmonian mora <sup>b</sup>, together with the Sicyonii and 150 Corinthian refugees, Praxitas added the protection of a rampart and ditch, stretching from the one wall to the other. In this hazardous position, with the enemy both in his front at Corinth, and in his rear at Lechæum, Praxitas was attacked, after the interval of a day, by the combined forces from the city, the greater part of whom were Argives. The Lacedæmonians, as usual, were on the right of their line, the Sicyonii in the centre, the

<sup>a</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 4. c. 4.

This war began B.C. 395, and lasted eight years, ending at the peace of Antalcidas.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps about 400: but as the moræ were seldom complete on foreign service,

and as even their full strength seems to have been different at different times, the conjecture is very uncertain. On the construction of the Lacedæmonian army, see Barthélemy, Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, note to c. 50.

Corinthian refugees near the eastern wall. The Sicyonii were defeated by the Argives in the centre, and pursued towards the sea, while the Corinthian refugees, on the left, defeated an adverse body of mercenaries under Iphicrates, and advanced to the part of the city wall which separated the town from the Longomural inclosure. When the Argives found that the Lacedæmonians had maintained their position against the Corinthians opposed to them, they endeavoured to regain the city, but were intercepted by the Corinthian refugees. By this check they came into contact with the Lacedæmonians in such a manner as gave the latter the greatest advantage against the right or uncovered side of the Argives, who, thus exposed <sup>a</sup>, were inevitably driven against the eastern wall. Many were slain in endeavouring to mount the steps leading up to the battlements, others were trodden down in the confusion by their own comrades. The dead bodies, says Xenophon, were piled up like heaps of corn, or wood, or stones.

The walls of Corinth were celebrated for their height and strength <sup>b</sup>, and they inclosed a larger space than those of any city in Greece, except Athens. If we reckon the periphery of

<sup>a</sup> πασιόμενοι ἐς τὰ γυμνά.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch. in Apophth. Lacon.

the Long Walls, including Lechæum, at thirty stades, and add to it the eighty-five stades assigned by Strabo to the circumference of the city, including the Acro-Corinthus, the entire circuit of the fortifications will be 115 stades. This was about sixty stades less than the circumference of the walls of Athens, including its ports; but when it is considered that sixty or seventy stades of the Athenian walls inclosed only a kind of broad street, it will not appear that the whole of the inclosed space was much smaller at Corinth than at Athens, though probably there was a larger portion of uninhabited ground within the walls of Corinth. We read in Plutarch, that when Aratus<sup>a</sup> surprised the Acro-Corinthus, a part of his troops, after entering the town, reached the citadel without being seen, and that another part hid themselves under the rocks, while the patrolle passed by.

The narrative of Xenophon in the place which has just been referred to, shews the great importance of the Corinthian Long Walls in time of war. They completed a line of fortification from the summit of the Acro-Corinthus to the sea, and thus intercepted the most direct and easy communication from the Isthmus into the

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch. in Arat.

Peloponnesus, for the rugged mountain which borders the southern side of the Isthmian plain, has only two passes, one by the opening on the eastern side of the Acro-Corinthus, which obliged an enemy to pass under the eastern side of Corinth, and was moreover defended by a particular fortification, as some remains of walls still testify, the other along the shore at Cenchreïæ, which was also a fortified place in the hands of the Corinthians. And hence the importance of the pass of Cenchreïæ, in all operations between the Peloponnesians and an enemy without the Isthmus, as is clearly shewn on more than one occasion in the Hellenics of Xenophon. Not long after the battle of Leuctra, when the victorious Bœotians invaded Laconia, and when the Athenians, having been persuaded to join the alliance against Thebes, sent Iphicrates with an army to Corinth to intercept the Bœotians on their return through the Isthmus, Xenophon censures the Athenian commander for posting on the Oneium (the passes of Mount Geraneaia) a body of men insufficient to withstand the Bœotians, while he left the most important pass of all, that of Cenchreïæ, unguarded<sup>a</sup>. Three years afterwards, B. c. 366., when Epaminondas

<sup>a</sup> παρέλιπεν ἀφύλακτον τὴν ὁδόν. Xenoph. Hell. l. 6. c. 5.  
καλλίστην παρὰ Κεγχρέας πέρ-



took the field in order to force the Achaians and Arcadians to a more attentive observance of their alliance with Thebes, he directed the Argive commander, Peisias, to advance from Argos, and seize the passes of Oneium, in order to secure the safe passage of the Bœotians to the Isthmus. Peisias first surprised the height above Cenchreïæ in the night, and occupied it with 2000 hoplitæ, having provisions for seven days, the Thebans meantime advancing from the northward upon the passes of Geraneaia. The Lacedæmonian and Athenian commanders upon that mountain, thus threatened in the rear, made no further resistance, and their enemy advanced without difficulty into Achaia<sup>a</sup>.

The successful attempt of Praxitas upon the Long Walls was immediately followed by the demolition of a part of them, by an incursion of the Lacedæmonians into the northern part of the Corinthia, and by the capture of Sidus and Crommyon. The Athenians felt their own territory so insecure, while the enemy was master of the Lechæan walls, that they took an early opportunity, after the departure of Praxitas, to march to Corinth with their whole disposable force, attended by masons and carpenters, and built up first the wall towards Sicyon, as their allied

<sup>a</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 7. c. 1.

enemies were still in considerable force in that place, and then, with more leisure, the eastern wall. These works, however, were soon demolished, and the gates of Peloponnesus once more thrown open by Agesilaus<sup>a</sup>, who, after having ravaged the Argolis in his way from Sparta, reached Corinth by the way of Tenea. His brother Teleutias at the same time attacked Lechæum by sea, and destroyed its docks.

The description of Corinth by Wheler and Spon shews that very little change has occurred here in the last 130 years; and as Nuri Bey defies the firmáhn of the Porte, by which I obtained admittance into the Palamídhí and the other fortresses, asserting that his requires a particular and separate firmáhn, I must be satisfied with verifying the accounts of Wheler and Spon, as well as an exterior view will permit. They were an hour in riding on horse-back, by a narrow rugged path, to the first gate. Here they were obliged to alight, and to enter on foot. The first inclosure was well covered with houses, of which a part was in ruins, but many still inhabited; for those in the town consisted at that time chiefly of occasional residences for pleasure or business: the families of both Turks and Christians keeping the best part of their move-

<sup>a</sup> ἀναπέτασας τῆς Πελοπον- Agesil.  
νήσου τὰς πύλας. Xenoph. in

able property in the Castle, to which they were in the habit of retiring for security, whenever the corsairs, to whose robberies the coasts of Greece were then much exposed, excited any alarm below. The fortress contained a great number of cisterns, hewn in the rock, for collecting rain water, and two natural sources, the higher of which, towards the southern side of the hill, was very plentiful: it is the ancient Peirene. There were three or four mosks in the Castle, and five or six small churches, but most of the latter were ruined. The cathedral of the metropolitan bishop, dedicated to St. Nicolas, was “a very mean place for such an ecclesiastical dignity;” but it contained two old manuscripts of the Scripture, divided according to the usual readings of the Greek Church, and two liturgies of St. Basil, written upon long scrolls of parchment, rolled upon cylinders of wood. From the first, or outer castle, the two travellers entered the inner through a gate strongly built, with towers on each side of it. The inclosure into which it conducted comprehended all the remainder of the summit of the Acro-Corinthus; Wheler reckoned it at two miles in circumference. The wall which surrounded it was strengthened, on two of the highest points, by towers, or bastions. On the eastern pinnacle of the mountain stood a small mosk, from whence

they enjoyed the same magnificent prospect which Strabo has described. It may be seen almost as well by mounting a broad slope, between two crests of rock which project above the surface of the northern side of the Acro-Corinthus. This slope leads up, like a great natural road, to the very wall of that, which Wheler has described as the second inclosure of the fortress, and which, though inner in one sense, is exterior in another, since it encompasses the greater part of the summit of the hill, and has no second protection, except on the side of the western inclosure. The view comprehends perhaps a greater number of celebrated objects than any other in Greece, though in extent it is not to be compared to some others which I have seen. Hymettus bounds the horizon to the eastward, and the Parthenon is distinctly seen at a direct distance of not much less than fifty English miles. Beyond the Isthmus and bay of Lechæum rise the Oneia, beyond which are seen all the great summits of Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica; and the two gulfs from the hill of Koryfi (*Gonoessa*) on the Corinthiac, to Sunium at the entrance of the Saronic. To the westward the view is impeded by a great hill, which may be called the *λῆμμα*, or eye-sore, of the Acro-Corinthus, especially with regard to modern war. Its summit is a trunc-

ated peak, which may be reached on horseback, by turning to the right of the road which leads to the Acro-Corinthus, at a small distance short of the first gate. This height is particularly formidable to the western or lower inclosure of the modern fortress, which slopes towards the hill, and is completely exposed to its fire, at a distance of about 1000 yards. The wall of the greater inclosure is neither very strong nor very high, nor is it defended by a ditch; so that, while the attention of the garrison of the lower fortress is occupied from the height to the west, nothing but a force so numerous as to occupy all the points of the larger inclosure can secure it from an assault; for the passage up the northern slope of the hill which I have mentioned is not the only one by which the summit may be gained.

It appears that the Venetians made some additions to the works of the western inclosure, during the twenty-five years they were in possession of Corinth, after Wheler's visit; but it does not seem from his description that they altered the general plan of the fortifications, or improved the defences of the great inclosure of the summit. It would require such additions, together with a very large garrison, to render the Acro-Corinthus a very defensible post against a regular army in the present times.



As pirates of late years have not been so formidable in these seas as they were in the time of Wheler, a larger proportion of the inhabitants of Corinth now reside in the lower town, and a smaller in the Castle, and there are fewer Turks ; but the amount of population seems to be nearly the same. He reckons 1500, half of whom were Turks. There are now about 200 Greek, and 100 Turkish houses. The rayah householders pay from eighty to 600 piastres a year for the *χαρτὶ*, or acquittance for all taxes. The modern town, like the ancient, is situated on the intermediate level which lies between the foot of the Acro-Corinthus and the range of cliffs. It occupies a large space of ground, being divided into several separate portions, with intervals of vine-yard and corn-land, and many of the houses are surrounded with gardens of orange, fig, almond, and other fruit trees, mixed with cypresses. The most remarkable object is the palace of Nuri Bey, standing in a large inclosure, near the middle of the cliff above mentioned. It is difficult to account for the extreme unhealthiness of Corinth in the summer and autumn, as the situation seems such as to expose it to the most complete ventilation. The dews are said to be particularly heavy.

Like many of the other celebrated cities of Greece, Corinth retains its ancient name, and,

in common with its neighbours, Megara, Ægina, and Argos, retains it without any alteration, although many a traveller perhaps has left Corinth with a different impression. The fact is, that the name is still written *Κόρινθος*, but as it generally occurs after the article *τὸν*, the initial of the name after *ν* receives the sound of *γ*, according to a modern practice, which was also that of the ancients. In rapid speech, the position of the accent on the first syllable has the effect of shortening the last two : and the final *ν* or *ς* is often mute in modern Greek. Thus, *Κόρινθος* in writing becomes *Gortho* in the vulgar tongue, though not always so in politer pronunciation : the Turks call it *Ghiurdos*.

*Kórintho* is the chief town of a *kazá* which is sixty miles in length, extending westward from *Foniá* (*Pheneus*) inclusive, as far as *Fanári* and *Potamiá*, which are situated between *Epidaurus* and *Træzen* : to the south-eastward it confines on the districts of *Argos* and *Nauplia*. There are eighty villages, besides many small *tjiftlíks*. Wheler says that the *Kadí* boasted of a jurisdiction extending over 300 villages ; either therefore the *kazá* was still larger in his time than it is now, or it is much depopulated. The latter I believe to be the case, though it is certain that the district, particularly in the vicinity of the town, has benefited much from the hereditary

power of the family of Nuri Bey, which has been established at Corinth during nearly a century; for here, as in every other part of Turkey, where a powerful family has been long settled, their interest in the prosperity of the district counteracts in some degree the usual blind and eager avarice of the Turkish character, and produces an effect favourable to the security of the subject; and this is greater and more permanent in proportion to the moderation of the governor, as by avoiding the character of accumulating treasure, he is so much the less exposed to the jealousy and rapacity of the Porte.

In some parts of the district of Corinth, the vacuum caused by the Russian insurrection, and by the Albanian invasion consequent upon it, has been in great measure filled up by a settlement of Albanian peasants.

No part of the vilayéti is remarkable for fertility, except the plains of Corinth and Sicyon, though corn is produced in every part. The principal produce is the oil, grain, silk, currants of the coast, and the cheese, butter, skins, honey, vermilion, resin, sheep and cattle of the interior: the latter part of the district is chiefly mountainous, but it contains a few inclosed plains, which, like those of Arcadia, are in great part unproductive, for want of drainage. The bey complained much to me of the blockade of the

Adriatic and Naples, produced by Bonaparte's decrees against our commerce. The Slavonian ships no longer come here for oil and cheese, while oil is at an excessive price at Trieste, and the cheese of the Moréa is spoiling.

In the garden of Notará's house, in which I am lodged, there is a well, the mouth of which is formed of a single cylindrical piece of white marble, pierced in the centre, a foot and a half in height, and sculptured with ten human figures in very low relief. The marble probably served the same purpose anciently as it now does; that is to say, that it was the peristomium of a well, belonging perhaps to one of the temples of Corinth<sup>a</sup>. It is said to have been formerly the mouth of a well in the house of a Turk in the eastern part of the town, who sold or made a present of it to Notará, and who, now that it has excited much attention from travellers, is so angry with himself for having parted with it, that he refuses to sell another piece belonging to the same monument, which still lies buried in his garden. The latter fragment, however, if it really exists, cannot contain much more than some ornamental moulding at the top of the peristomium, corresponding to a circle of Ionic

<sup>a</sup> Sculptured peristomia in the temples of the Greeks were common decorations, as and Romans.  
well in the private houses as

eggs and beads which is under the feet of the figures, for the entire heads of the figures are still traced on Notará's marble, though much injured, and some of them almost obliterated, having probably been destroyed by the Turks, according to their custom when they meet with any representation of the human figure. The completeness of the stone at the bottom, and its incompleteness at the top, induced M. Notará, when he applied it on his well, to place the former side upwards, and thus to reverse the figures<sup>a</sup>.

They are all in a walking attitude. Seven of them face in one direction, and the remaining three in the opposite. The two that meet represent Apollo and Minerva, the former wearing a chlamys, with his right shoulder bare, his lyre under the left arm, and the plectrum in the right hand. Minerva is bare-headed; all the upper fore part of her body is covered in front with a scaly ægis, upon which appears a serpent, instead of the head of Medusa. She bears a helmet in her right hand, and a spear in the left. She is followed by Hercules, shouldering an enormous club, and carrying a bow and quiver in his left hand; a lion's skin, tied by the paws round his

<sup>a</sup> This curious specimen of the ancient Corinthian school is now in England, and forms part of the collection of the Earl of Guilford.



neck, hangs over his back. Behind him is a female, enveloped from the neck to the feet in a loose peplus, bound in the middle with a narrow zone. Diana follows Apollo, extending her left hand, in which is a bow, and with her right leading a stag by one of the feet. A quiver appears over her left shoulder : her right arm is disencumbered of the peplus, and shews a short tunic, covering only the breast and brachium, and apparently made of fur. She is followed by a matronly figure, whose limbs are extremely muscular, and who is clothed in a peplus differing only from that of the female following Hercules in having the *ulnæ* bare. Next to her comes Mercury, naked, with the exception of a *chlamys* hanging upon his arms, and known only by the wings at his heels. He is followed by three females, of much lighter proportions than the others.

In the first and third of these females the peplus is thrown aside from the right shoulder, and exhibits a tunic of fur, like that of Diana ; the lining of fur appears also on the *pepli* of these two figures, at the feet. The middle figure is drest in a peplus like that of the matron who follows Diana ; her looks are cast down, and her head is covered with a veil, of which she holds a corner between the thumb and finger of the right hand, while her left is joined to the right

hand of the female who precedes, and who looks round, and appears to lead her. The last of these three females touches the elbow of the middle one with her left hand, looking at the same time in the opposite direction, and with a coquettish air holding up the lower end of her peplus with the right hand. The form of the breast is more developed in this figure than in any other ; the peplus adheres more closely to the limbs, the shape is more displayed, and a broad belt, on which some ornaments are visible, passes across the left shoulder, and under the right arm,—all shewing, but particularly the cestus, that the figure is intended for Venus.

This monument is the best specimen I have met with in Greece, of that early style of Greek sculpture (before it was brought to perfection at Athens), which Pausanias calls the *Æginetan*, but of which Corinth and Sicyon were equally the schools. The noble and correct simplicity of true taste are conspicuous in the whole design, though the execution is still very distant from the perfection of the Attic style. With the exception of the three young females following Mercury, which form an extremely graceful group, all the other figures have an Egyptian rigidity of form and attitude. The drapery falls in equal folds and plaits, in the manner commonly known by the name of Etruscan, and is

wrought with a diligence and care, proving that the steps by which the Greeks arrived at such perfection in the expression of drapery, were not less slow and painful than their progress in the imitation of animate nature, an observation which may account for the general imperfection of modern sculptors in drapery, who have never passed through the same long process of practice and experience, in this particular production of the chisel. It is evident that the subject of this relief is one of the actions of Hercules; on the vases of Athens, which so often represent them, we find him constantly attended by Minerva, as he is on this monument. It would seem also, that the veiled damsel, preceded by Mercury, and led by Venus and another female, is a bride. Is it the marriage of Hercules and Hebe?

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## ADDITIONAL NOTE

TO

### CHAPTER XXVIII.

I HAVE offered an opinion that the hexastyle temple, of which the extant columns at Corinth formed a part, is not less ancient than the middle of the seventh century before the Christian æra. In a question which admits only of a conjectural result, some kind of *petitio principii* is generally necessary. I assume, therefore, that the short monolithic shaft of the Corinthian temple, is a proof of its superior antiquity to

every known example of the Doric order. The substitution of a more slender shaft, composed of several pieces of stone, in the place of a single mass of shorter proportions, is a natural step in the progress of architecture, in which art we generally find that the raising of large masses by the application of numerous hands, has preceded the study of a pleasing form, and the economy of materials and manual labour. It is incredible that the heavy proportions of the Corinthian temple should ever have been reverted to in Greece, after the more agreeable effect of a lighter column and entablature had been experienced, and they had been generally adopted.

On the other hand, it is evident that a long course of years was required to bring the order into that almost perfect form to which it had attained, when a temple of the dimensions of that at Corinth was constructed. The peripteral hexastyle may be considered as having completed the invention in its simple state, before those decorations were gradually introduced, which were principally derived from the improving art of statuary, and which ended in giving to the Doric order the very different character exhibited in the great Athenian examples.

It is almost unnecessary to remark, that this order of architecture, although styled Doric, is, in fact, the European Greek, in contradistinction to the Asiatic Greek, called the Ionic: it was invented in European Greece, about the same time that the Ionic was produced in Asia, and was equally employed by every tribe of Greeks, as well in Greece Proper, as by the colonies of those tribes in Italy and Sicily. At the same time it is not improperly termed Doric, inasmuch as it was brought to perfection in the Doric cities, which were the earliest schools of art in European Greece. The order I conceive to have been indigenous in that country, and to have been brought by slow gradations into its perfect state, without any assistance from foreign aid; for every part of it is traceable to the wants and consequent inventions of a people in a rude state of society, inhabiting a particular soil and

climate, whose structures gradually improved, until the cell with a pitched roof, which enclosed the worshipped idol, was surrounded with a gallery supported by columns, and thus assumed the shape of a Doric temple. That some kind of temple was coeval with idolatry, we can hardly doubt. In the *Iliad*, in the *Odyssey*, as well as in the other very ancient poems ascribed to Homer, temples are frequently mentioned by the same term *νολ*, by which they were known to the Greeks in all subsequent ages. On the other hand, had Greek architecture then attained any of those characteristics by which it was afterwards known, Homer would scarcely have omitted to give some indication of them in the course of his poems. A similar inference may be drawn from the ruins of Mycenæ, which are anterior to the time of the poet, and contain specimens of an architecture very different from the Doric. The artists of those times were chiefly noted for the construction of treasuries, not of temples, which afterwards served for the same purposes as the former. Another fact deducible from the remains of Mycenæ, as well as from the descriptions left by Pausanias and other authors of the Greek buildings of those times, is that the early colonies from Egypt, although they introduced some of the mythology of that country, did not transplant its arts in any great degree; for there is nothing at Mycenæ bearing any resemblance to the monuments of Egypt, nor indeed have the temples of Greece any similarity to those of Egypt beyond the existence of columns, which are so natural an invention, that they are found in the huts or caves of similar climates in every part of the world, and in the course of improvement have become the principal ornament of sacred buildings in the most distant countries. In fact, the peculiarities of the architecture, both of Egypt and Greece, may be traced to the nature of each country. In a narrow valley, scarcely ever irrigated by the atmosphere, but annually inundated by the river, inclosed between stony ridges, and deficient in forest trees, the dwellings and temples were excavated in the rocks,



or, at a later period, were imitations of caverns, with flat roofs, situated on heights beyond the reach of the inundation. In the rainy climate of Greece, on the other hand, a pitched roof was necessary: the country abounding in timber as well as stone, the earliest Doric buildings were naturally formed of the material more easily wrought, and hence the temple in stone was an imitation of a construction in wood, as all the details of Doric architecture tend to prove. Upon the whole, therefore, it may be concluded that the Doric order arose as soon as internal tranquillity had followed the settlement of the Heracleidæ, in the Peloponnesus, and that it arose in those cities which were the earliest seats of art in Greece; namely, Sicyon, Corinth, and Argos. As a proof that the first temples were built of wood, there still remained, in the time of Pausanias, the ruins of an oaken temple at Mantinea of extreme antiquity; and the oaken column in the opisthodomus of the Heræum of Olympia, if not actually a relic of a more early wooden temple of the same dimensions, was at least a memorial, shewing that the most ancient Heræum had been constructed in that material. Three centuries are not too much to allow for the space of time which elapsed between the first conception of the Doric temple in wood, and its execution in stone, of the dimensions of the extant columns of Corinth. This would bring down the Corinthian temple to the eighth century before the Christian æra.

The next inquiry is, how far the period to which I have assigned the temple of Corinth will be justified by a comparison of its construction with that of the other existing monuments of Doric architecture, of which the date is *better* known; for of none, except the buildings of Athens and the temple of Phigaleia, is there any absolute certainty in this respect. The examples which may be presumed to approach the nearest to the Corinthian temple in point of time, and which, as being all hexastyles, furnish the most proper objects of comparison, are the Panhellenium of Ægina, the temples of Syracuse and Eggesta, and the oldest of those at Pæstum and Selinus. The following

considerations may lead to an approximation to the date of the Panhellenium. Æacus, grandfather of Achilles, was said to have been the founder of this temple<sup>a</sup>; by which we can only understand the founder of the temple first erected on Mount Panhellenium. The natural resources of Ægina will not allow of the supposition, that the building of which the remains exist could have been executed in any period but that in which the island had acquired the height of its power and opulence by the success of its commerce. This success appears to have been developed simultaneously with that of Corinth, after the restoration of settled governments in the Peloponnesus under the Heracleidæ, when the prosperity of Ægina increased rapidly under the protection of Argos and Epidaurus, until the island became an independent state, but at what exact period we have no means of ascertaining<sup>b</sup>.

About the year 560 B. C., when Amasis, king of Egypt, encouraged commercial intercourse between Greece and Egypt, by creating a Greek city at Naucratis, in the Delta<sup>c</sup>, Ægina was the only European republic which had a commercial colony there, and its Egyptian commerce seems to have rivalled that of the two most opulent states of Asia; for, when nine other Asiatic cities built a temple in common at Naucratis for the use of their citizens, Miletus, Samus, and Ægina each erected in that city a separate temple, dedicated to the principal deity of the metropolis; that of the Milesii to Apollo, that of the Samii to Juno, and that of the Æginetæ to Jupiter<sup>d</sup>. It is difficult to conceive that, when this temple was executed, the great national work on Mount Panhellenium was not already completed; it is evident, at least, from Herodotus, that at that time the power

<sup>a</sup> λέγουσιν Αἰακὸν ποιῆσαι τῷ Διῷ.  
Pausan. l. 2. c. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. l. 5. c. 83.

<sup>c</sup> Psammetichus, about a century earlier, had first infringed the old Egyptian customs hostile to strangers by giving lands in lower Egypt to the Ionians and Carians, who had as-

sisted him in obtaining possession of the throne. This was the beginning of the intercourse between Asiatic Greece and Egypt, which continued to increase to the time of Amasis. Herodot. l. 2. c. 154.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. l. 2. c. 178.

of Ægina, as indicated by its rivalry with the Samii, was already of ancient date<sup>a</sup>.

The period *below* which it cannot well be supposed that the Panhellenium was erected, was when Athens, which Ægina in the height of its power had defied and insulted, obtained superiority at sea. It was after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, B.C. 510, that the Athenians, already very considerable in wealth and power, began to turn their attention to naval affairs, with such success that, although they suffered some injury from the Æginetæ about the year just mentioned, they had collected, thirty years afterwards, a fleet of fifty ships, which, in union with twenty from Corinth, was able to oppose the navy of Ægina with varying success<sup>b</sup>. When both states put forth their utmost strength, in the battle of Salamis, B.C. 480, Athens had one hundred and eighty ships, Ægina only forty-two<sup>c</sup>. Such an increasing disparity in the power of two hostile neighbours, led inevitably to the subjection of the smaller; and, although Herodotus speaks in strong terms of the wealth which Ægina acquired by the Persian spoil at Plataea<sup>d</sup>, it is neither to this period that we can attribute the erection of Panhellenium, nor to that in which the arts of peace were suspended throughout Greece by an overwhelming invasion, nor to that when the island was exerting itself to the utmost against a neighbour becoming every year more powerful; but to the earlier time when Ægina rivalled the chief states of Asia, and exceeded, in commerce and naval power, all those of Europe, with the exception of Corinth. Considering all

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. l. 3. c. 59. The historian says, that the Samii first attacked the Æginetæ, in the reign of Amphicrates, king of Samus, of whom there is no other notice in history.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. l. 5. c. 78 *et seq.* l. 6.

c. 89 *et seq.*

<sup>c</sup> Id. l. 8. c. 46. On the number of the Æginetan ships, see Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. I. Part 2. p. 250.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. l. 9. c. 79.

these circumstances, it does not seem probable that the Panhellenium was undertaken at a period much later than 600 B.C.

On comparing it with the neighbouring temple of Theseus, which is known to have been built about 465 B.C., and which is so exactly of the same class of hexastyles that the breadth of the two buildings is equal within a foot, we find such a similarity between them as at first sight would dispose the spectator to doubt that there can have been so great a difference between their dates as I have supposed. Their iconic decorations, however, furnish the strongest evidence of this difference; nor does the comparison, in this instance, admit of any deception, the sculptures of the Theseium having formed a part of the construction, which could not have been added subsequently to the erection of the temple; whereas the statues in the aeti of the Panhellenium, which may have been so added, would in this case only strengthen the opinion of there having been a considerable interval between the erection of the two temples. As to the statues having been more ancient than the building, that is almost impossible, at least with regard to the greater part of them, as they were obviously made expressly for the aeti; in short, it can hardly admit of a doubt, that they were contemporary with the building. Nor is it in the least surprising, that we should find architecture in a more advanced state than sculpture at any given period of antiquity, previous to that of the perfection of iconic sculpture, the latter art being so much the more difficult.

Independently of these works, there are some proofs, in the comparative construction of the two temples, that the Panhellenium is the more ancient, if an entablature considerably heavier and a shorter column be admitted as an evidence of such antiquity. In the Panhellenium the height of the entablature is to that of the column, including the capital, as 1 to 2.53; in the Theseium the column is nearly three times

the height of the entablature. The lower diameter of the shaft being unity, the height of the column, including the capital, is 5·3 in the Panhellenium; 5·7 in the Theseium <sup>a</sup>.

If a century at the least elapsed between the building of the temples of Jupiter Panhellenius and of Theseus, a much greater difference of date would be justified by an architectural comparison of the former building with the remains of the temple of Corinth, in which the short monolithic shaft and an architrave <sup>b</sup> still heavier than that of the Panhellenium, seem to attest a much remoter antiquity. It would be absurd, however, to apply the rule of proportion to such a question; the only opinion, therefore, which can be given with any degree of confidence is, that the most recent period of time to which the Corinthian hexastyle can be attributed is the reign of Cypselus, who ruled at Corinth from the year 663 to the year 633 B.C., and than whom there is no Corinthian monarch more likely to have erected this edifice, as he was equally noted for the wealth which he extorted from his subjects, and for the magnificence of his dedications to the gods <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The following numbers exhibit a comparison of the other proportions of the Panhellenium and Theseium. In the Panhellenium, which had twelve columns in the side, the length on the upper step of the stylobate is 94 feet; in the Theseium, which had thirteen columns in the sides, the length is 104: the breadth of both is 45. In the peristyle of the Panhellenium the lower diameter of the shaft is 3 feet 3 inches, the upper 2 f. 4·6 in.; in that of the Theseium the lower is 3 f. 3·4 in., the upper 2 f. 6·6 in. The height of the column, including the capital, in the Panhellenium, 17 f. 3 in.; in the Theseium, 18 f. 8 in. The general intercolumniation of the Panhellenium is 5 f. 4·8 in.; that of the Theseium, 5 f. 4 in.

<sup>b</sup> The architrave is the only member of the entablature preserved. According to the usual proportions of the several members among one another, the entire height of the entablature of the Corinthian temple was not less than half that of the column, including the capital.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. l. 1. c. 14.—Plutarch. in Septem Sap. Conviv. et de Pyth. Orac.—Plato in Phædr.—Suid. in *Κυψελίδων*.—Strabo, pp. 353. 378.—Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 2. The most celebrated of the offerings of Cypselus was a large statue of Jupiter of hammered gold, at Olympia. It would seem, from a comparison of the last two authors, that the statue was at Olympia in the time of Strabo, but had been removed before that of Pausanias.



But the temple of Corinth may also be ascribed, as I have already remarked, with great probability, to a remoter antiquity; for example, to the beginning of the eighth century, when Corinth, under the Bacchiadæ, was already in the height of power and opulence, and when the populousness, which caused large colonies to be sent in the course of the two following centuries to Syracuse, Corcyra, Epirus, and Acarnania, was extremely favourable to the erection of great monuments. To ~~an~~ earlier time the temple can hardly be attributed consistently with the supposition, that the invention of the Doric order was not in progress until after the return of the Heracleidæ.

An objection to the high antiquity here assigned to the Corinthian temple may, perhaps, arise on comparing it with the oldest hexastyles of Pæstum and Sicily; in all which, although none of them are probably older than the sixth century before J.C., we find proportions only a little lighter than those of Corinth, and differing from that specimen chiefly in having shafts formed of several pieces instead of one. I am inclined to attribute the resemblance to that common practice among colonies of adhering to metropolitan customs after they have become obsolete in the mother country, and which is found to prevail even in regard to language. The western colonists appear not to have diverged for a long time from the proportions which they brought with them at the time of their migration, and which were naturally not very different from those of the extant columns at Corinth. Corinth was at that time the principal seat of the arts in Greece, and consequently furnished, as well to her own colonies as to those from other parts of Greece, both models of Doric architecture and a great portion of the artists, who were some of the most important members of the new settlements. The changes which subsequent architects thought proper to make in the models originally taken from Greece, seem not to have been imitations of the contemporary improvements of the

mother country, but to have arisen from the views of taste and expediency entertained by the colonial artists themselves. Hence arose a style of colonial Doric different from that of Greece Proper, and of which in general the characteristics are, a shorter and more tapering column, a more spreading echinus, a smaller intercolumniation, a greater entasis, and a higher entablature.

I shall subjoin, in justification of these remarks and for the reader's convenience, a short statement of the proportions of the principal hexastyles of the western colonies, with the probable dates of each.

*Pæstum.* The hexastyle at Pæstum, commonly called the temple of Neptune, is of the larger class <sup>a</sup>: its breadth is nearly equal to that of four other hexastyles at Selinus, but it is shorter than three of them. The height of the column, including the capital, is 4.15 times the lower diameter of the shaft; the intercolumniation, 1.1; the diminution of the shaft upwards, or the difference between its upper and lower diameter, is one-thirteenth of the height of the shaft; the height of the entablature is to that of the column, including the capital, as 1 to 2.4.

Posidonia, or Pæstum, having been scarcely noticed by history, the evidence of its importance, like that of many other Greek cities, is to be derived only from its ruins and its coins. It was already a place of importance in the year 535 B.C., when the neighbouring town of Hyela was first built <sup>b</sup>. It was probably founded about the year 700 B.C., not long after Sybaris had received a mixed colony of Achæians and Træzenians, who not having agreed together, the Træzenians sought a new settlement on the shore of the Pæstan bay <sup>c</sup>, and gave to it the name of Posidonia, which was the

<sup>a</sup> The largest hexastyle, of which the dimensions are known, is the temple of Jupiter at Olympia. Its breadth was near one hundred feet. The large class of hexastyles alluded

to above, are from fifteen to twenty-five feet below that breadth.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. l. 1. c. 167.

<sup>c</sup> Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 3. — Strabo, p. 251.

more ancient appellation of Trœzen<sup>a</sup>. The great hexastyle was probably built about the year 600 B.C.

*Syracuse.* Among the hexastyles of the western states still existing, the most interesting to compare with the temple of Corinth is that of Syracuse, this city having been the greatest and most illustrious of the Corinthian colonies. Its remains now form part of the church of Santa Maria delle Colonne, in the Piazza of Syracuse. It was nearly of the same dimensions as the other great hexastyles of the western colonies; but the proportions were a little lighter than those of the temples of Pæstum and Egæsta, and, consequently, it did not so nearly approach those of the temple of Corinth. The height of the columns is 4.4 times the lower diameter; the intercolumniation 1.1; the diminution of the shaft upwards one-ninetcenth of its height; the height of the entablature is to that of the column as about 1 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>b</sup>.

Diodorus informs us, that the temple of Minerva at Syracuse was erected under the aristocracy of the Gamori, or Geomori, by an architect named Agathocles, who was said to have been punished by the goddess for purloining some of the best pieces of stone intended for the building, and converting them to the construction of a private dwelling for himself<sup>c</sup>. It is the received opinion of the modern Syracusans, that the existing temple was dedicated to Minerva; and, independently of the tradition, which may be allowed to have some degree of weight, there are good reasons for the supposition. In the island Ortygia, to which the modern town of Syracuse, like the first Corinthian colony, is confined, there were two principal temples, one dedicated to Diana, the other to Minerva<sup>d</sup>. The temple of Minerva, who, as usual, was the guar-

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 373.—Pausan. l. 2. c. 30.

<sup>b</sup> The cornice being deficient, its proportion to the two lower members of the entablature is deduced from

other examples.

<sup>c</sup> Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit. p. 549. Ed. Wessel.

<sup>d</sup> Cicero in Verrem, act. 2. l. 4. c. 53.

dian of the citadel, and was supposed to preside over the councils and arms of the state, stood in a lofty and conspicuous situation: for it was a custom among the Syracusan seamen to offer sacrifices to the goddess at the moment when a shield on the summit of her temple disappeared from their sight in sailing away from the island<sup>a</sup>. The church of Santa Maria, in the Piazza, stands exactly in the central and highest part of Ortygia. Near the harbour, on the northern side of the island, there are some vestiges of another temple, which apparently was of larger dimensions: this probably was the temple of Diana; for as we learn from the ancient authors, that all Ortygia was sacred to the latter goddess<sup>b</sup>, and that a festival of three days was held in her honour<sup>c</sup>, it is easy to conceive, that her temple may have been larger than that of Minerva, though not perhaps so splendid.

The Gamori were the nobles, who inherited the lands divided among the original colonists who accompanied Archias from Corinth. They obtained the government in the year 596 B.C., (the same year, according to the Parian Chronicle, in which Sappho fled from Mytilene to Syraeusc;) and they were expelled by the lower orders not long before the time when Gelo made himself master of Syracuse under pretence of re-establishing the Gamori. The latter event took place in the year 494 B.C.<sup>d</sup> The temple, therefore, may be considered a work of the middle of the sixth century B.C.

*Egesta*, or *Segesta*, one of the most ancient of the Greek settlements in Sicily, was unfortunate in having been less favourably situated for commerce than any of its neighbours, and in having been constantly in a state of hostility with one or other of them concerning its boundaries, that incessant subject of dispute among the Greek republics. It was particularly with Selinus that Egesta quarrelled on this subject,

<sup>a</sup> Polemo ap. Athen. l. 11. c. 2.

<sup>c</sup> T. Livii Hist. l. 25. c. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Pindar. Pyth. Od. 2.—Diodor. l. 5. c. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. l. 7. c. 155.—Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 6. c. 62.

and Selinus having been much the richer state in consequence of its commercial advantages, the game was a losing one for the Egestæi, who were at length so much distressed in consequence, that they implored the assistance of the Athenians in the year 416 B.C., and gave rise to their Sicilian expedition<sup>a</sup>. When the Athenian fleet arrived, however, the Egestæi were unable to produce more than thirty talents towards the expenses of their allies<sup>b</sup>. Not long afterwards they invited that fatal intervention of the Carthaginians which put an end to all works of peace in the western part of Sicily. Of the inferiority of the Egestæi in wealth to the other Sicilian republics, in the most flourishing period of Sicilian history, there is some appearance in their extant monuments. The theatre is very small, and there are no remains of more than one temple, which, although of such large dimensions as testify great power in the republic at the time when it was undertaken, indicates, by its unfluted columns, that it was never completed according to the original intention of the architect. As it appears from Diodorus, that the wars of the Egestæi and Selinusii commenced as early as the 50th Olympiad<sup>c</sup>, B.C. 580, it is not impossible that the completion of the temple may have been interrupted at that early period, for it has an appearance of one of the most ancient Doric buildings in existence. Like the two great hexastyles at Syracuse and Pæstum, it has fourteen columns on the sides. Its dimensions are very nearly those of the temple at Pæstum; but the columns were rather smaller and less tapering, and the intercolumniation greater. The entablature is nearly half the height of the column, which is a greater proportion than occurs in any known example of the Doric order, except the temple at Corinth.

*Selinus.* The labours of Messrs. Angell and Harris, who devoted an entire year to the examination of the ruins of Se-

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. l. 6. c. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. l. 13. c. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. l. 5. c. 9.



linus, and who, at the expense of the life of the latter gentleman, obtained for the first time accurate measurements of six temples at that place, have thus acquired a most important addition to the existing knowledge of Doric architecture. The details of the several temples not having been yet published, it can only be here remarked, that two of them appear to furnish a remarkable exception to the other examples of colonial Doric, in having a wider intercolumniation, a lighter entablature, and a more slender shaft, though an equally spreading echinus in the capital; while the others have proportions not very different from those already quoted of the hexastyles of Pæstum and Syraeuse.

Selinus was founded, by a colony from Hybla, about the year 636 B.C.<sup>a</sup>, and in 410 was taken by the Carthaginians<sup>b</sup>. It continued, indeed, to be inhabited by a mixed population of Selinusii, Himeræi, and others<sup>c</sup>, until the year 268 B.C., when it was destroyed by the Carthaginians, and the inhabitants removed to Lilybæum<sup>d</sup>; but there cannot be a question, that all the great buildings of which the remains are still preserved are the productions of the earlier and only flourishing period of the republic. The ancient history of Sicily is so little known to us, that we have difficulty in understanding by what extraordinary means it was, that a territory of small dimensions, and a city not enjoying much advantage of situation, were enabled to raise so many magnificent temples in so short a space of time. Four of them were of the larger class of hexastyles; a fifth was an octastyle, which in magnitude and beauty of design was exceeded by very few of the buildings of antiquity; and the sixth, although of the smaller class of hexastyles, was larger than either of the three existing hexastyles of Greece Proper at Ægina, Athens, and Phigaleia. Three of the temples of Se-

<sup>a</sup> Thueyd. l. 6. c. 4.—V. Raoul  
Rochette Hist. des Colonnes Grecques,  
tome 3. c. 5 et 18.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. l. 13. c. 56.

<sup>c</sup> Id. l. 13. c. 63; l. 14. c. 47.

<sup>d</sup> Id. Excerpt. l. 24.

linus, of which the octastyle is one, stood in the city ; the other three, of which the small hexastyle is one, stood on the western height, which was anciently the Acropolis. The latter situation being that in which the earliest temple was probably built, and the middle temple on the western height having been apparently more ancient than the other great hexastyle on that hill, we may presume that it is the most ancient of the four great hexastyles of Selinus. As the Hyblæan colony must have arisen to power and opulence with great rapidity, it may easily be conceived, that this temple was commenced at least as early as the year 600 B.C. Its eastern front was adorned with sculptured metopes, three of which, in tolerable preservation, were discovered, together with fragments of some of the others, by the English architects, the survivor of whom has published the drawings of them. One of the three metopes represents three human figures and a quadriga ; the subject of a second is the common fable of the Gorgotomia, or Perseus cutting off the head of Medusa ; that of the third is Hercules carrying off the Cercopes on his shoulders. Although these works betray the unskilfulness of an inferior order of artists, as well as the rudeness of archaic art, they resemble in manner the statues of the Panhellenium, with which they appear, from what I have just stated as to the date of the temple, to have been nearly coeval. Their inferiority of style is easily accounted for, the statues of Ægina having been produced in one of the best schools of Greek art, those of Selinus in a very distant colony. A similar difference and the same kind of inferiority are found in the reliefs of the temple of Phigaleia compared with those of the Parthenon, although the temples were built by the same architect.

Two of the other large hexastyles of Selinus were decorated with sculptures. In the middle temple of the eastern hill the decoration was confined, as in the middle temple of the western hill, to the metopes of the eastern front ; in the southern temple of the eastern hill it was confined to the me-

topes of the pronaos and posticum. Some fragments only of these sculptures have been discovered; but those which belonged to the middle temple are sufficient to shew, that the sculptures related to the exploits of Minerva, that the style is that which the ancients called the Æginetan, but that it is of a less remote antiquity than that of the metopes of the middle temple of the western hill,—a circumstance which agrees with the comparative construction of the two temples: the columns being more slender, the intercolumniation greater in proportion to the lower diameter of the column, and the peristyle wider in the eastern than in the western temple.

The octastyle temple of Selinus having, like many such great undertakings, never been completed, may from this circumstance be regarded as the most recent of the Selinusian edifices<sup>a</sup>. It was probably a contemporary and rival of the temple of Jupiter Olympius in the neighbouring city of Acragas, and dedicated to the same deity; for Herodotus shews, that there was a sanctuary of Jupiter in the Agora of Selinus<sup>b</sup>; and, by alluding to an altar only, and not to a temple, he affords a strong argument, that the great octastyle was not begun at the time of which he speaks, or about 500 B.C. The date of the Acragantine temple is better known than that of any Doric building, except those of Athens and Phigaleia. It was commenced by Theron, who died in the year 472 B.C., after a reign of ten years, and it appears to have been undertaken almost immediately after he ascended the throne; for

<sup>a</sup> The following numbers serve to compare the proportions of this temple with those of the great Athenian octastyle, the Parthenon, which was nearly of the same date. In the Parthenon the proportion of the height of the entablature to that of the column, including the capital, was 1 to 3, nearly; in the Selinusian octastyle, about 1 to 2½. The diameter of the column at the base to its height, including the capital, in the Parthe-

non, as 1 to 5·54; in the octastyle at Selinus, as 1 to 5·3. The same diameter to the intercolumniation at Athens, as 1 to 1·294; at Selinus, as 1 to 1·2. The diminution upwards, or proportion which the difference between the lower and upper diameter of the shaft bears to the height of the shaft at Athens, 1 to 24; at Selinus, 1 to 13.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. l. 5. c. 47.

Diodorus informs us, that the Carthaginian captives, who were taken at Himera in the year 480, were employed at Acragas in cutting stones "for the construction, among other purposes, of the greatest temples of the gods." <sup>a</sup> As the historian has elsewhere given a particular description of the Olympium, and descanted upon its magnitude <sup>b</sup>, we cannot doubt that he alluded to that temple. When the Carthaginians captured and demolished Acragas, in the year 405, the temple still wanted the roof, and had, therefore, been more than seventy-five years in progress.

*Acragas.* The two hexastyles at Acragas, commonly called the temples of Juno and Concord, resemble each other so nearly, as well in dimensions as in other respects, that one cannot but feel inclined to ascribe them to the same age. They are nearly of the same size as the small hexastyle of Selinus: the columns are 4·7 diameters in height.

As these temples are lighter in their proportions than the temples of Pæstum, Syracuse, Eggesta, and Selinus, they may be supposed not earlier than the year 500; but probably not much later, as the architects of Magna Græcia appear in the fifth century to have begun to despise that simplicity and uniformity of design which are still remarkable in the two Acragantine temples. This deviation is very conspicuous in the plan and details of the heptastyle of Jupiter Olympius at Acragas, and in the enneastyle at Pæstum. The florid ornaments under the capitals of the columns in the latter temple, as well as in the smaller hexastyle at the same place, indicate a similar deviation. These, however, were elegant innovations; but the architect seems to have been deficient in the good taste of Sicily when he made the entasis, or swelling of the columns, so apparent that they look like a caricature of the Doric order. At Athens the entasis is so small, that its existence has only been recently ascertained.

<sup>a</sup> λίθων . . . ἐξ ὧν οἱ μίγιστοι τῶν l. 11. c. 25.

θεῶν ναοὶ κατεσκευάσθησαν. Diodor.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. l. 13. c. 82.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### CORINTHIA.

HIERUM of the ISTHMUS.—Ancient attempts to make a Canal through the ISTHMUS.—Ancient fortifications across the ISTHMUS.—CROMMYON.—SIDUS.—SOLYGEIA, CHERSONESUS, RHEITUS.—Ports PEIRÆUS, ANTHEDON, and BUCEPHALEIA.—Capes HERÆUM and OLMIÆ.—CENOË, PEIRÆUM, THERMA.—TENEÆ.

APRIL 23. I ride this afternoon to Kalamáki, a harbour in the *Saronic* Gulf, from the head of which, to the shore of the Bay of Corinth, the isthmus is narrowest. Having traversed for twenty minutes the flat summit on the eastern side of Corinth, where a thin stratum of soil covers the rock, I then cross by a bridge a stream flowing from the opening between the *Acro-Corinthus* and the rocky ridge of nearly equal height, which extends from thence to the shore of the *Saronic* Gulf, and there terminates on the southern side of Kekhriés. We then pass over a cultivated level to Hexamíli, a small village with a large tower, belonging to Nuri Bey. Beyond this the rock makes its appearance in many places above the soil. It was from hence that the ancient Corinthians obtained their stone



for building; for I observe that all these rocks have been quarried.

At Hexamíli the road to Kekhriés (*Cenchreiaë*) branches off to the right: we continue to pass among quarries and open pastures, where are large flocks of sheep and goats; and in one hour and forty minutes from Corinth arrive at the Posidonium, or Isthmic Hierum, near the harbour anciently called Schœnus<sup>a</sup>, and now Kalamáki. Here I find the vestiges of a theatre, and a stadium. Of the former there remain only the substruction of the cavea, and some traces of the proscenium, of the latter some foundations of the wall which supported the rectilinear end; the circular end has been ruined by a torrent which has broken through it. From the upper end to the remains of the wall I measured 650 feet.

At about fifty yards from this wall, to the northward, and about double that distance eastward of the theatre, are the remains of an ancient enclosure, which was undoubtedly the peribolus of the temple of Neptune. The wall which surrounded the sacred ground is now a heap of ruins; it was of the most regular kind of Hellenic masonry externally, but filled up with rubble between the casings. It was flanked with square towers; the northern side formed

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 380.

part of a line of fortification, which stretched across the isthmus. Among the stones of the peribolus I find a few fragments of a large Doric edifice, particularly that of a column, of which the chord of the fluting is ten inches and a half in length; this is the only measurable dimension, but it is sufficient, I think, to shew that the column belonged to the Temple of Neptune, though I could not find a vestige of the foundations of that building. The inclosed space is now a level pasture. The northern wall of the peribolus, or Isthmic wall, takes a southerly direction eastward of the peribolus, and is traced as far as a brow which overhangs, on the northern side, a small torrent bed, terminating in a level at the head of the Bay of Kalamáki. Another wall crossed from the same brow to a height on the southern side of the level, where probably stood a small fortress, forming part of a plan of defence towards the sea; all these walls were flanked with square towers. Westward of the peribolus the Isthmic wall is traced, for about 300 yards, to the foundations of another small fortress; and from thence, westward across the isthmus, as far as the bay of Lechæum, and thus the whole appears clearly to have been a connected system of permanent fortification for the defence of the isthmus, as well as for the safety of the hierum. The level

of Kalamáki terminates to the westward in eminences of a soft kind of rock, which are covered with small shrubs; these heights, though not many feet above the level of the sea, are sufficiently so to require an immense labour in cutting through them, to unite the two gulfs: they are the last falls of the *Oneia*, which rise gradually from this point to the great summit, anciently called *Geraneia*.

The ruins of the Isthmic Hierum seem to have suffered great dilapidation since Wheler's visit in 1676. He says, "There are yet to be seen the ruins, not only of the town, old walls, and several old churches, but also the remains of the Isthmian Theater<sup>a</sup>. Here were many more temples, and excellent edifices, mentioned by Pausanias, and many more he gives no account of, as we learned from a very fine inscription we found half way in the ground, by a little ruined church, which speaks of many temples, gardens and porticos, repaired by one Publius Licinius Priscus Juventianus. There are yet remaining in several places foundations of the walls that were built by the Lacedæmonians from one sea to the other, to secure their peninsula from the incursions of their enemies;

<sup>a</sup> Spon says, "Les beaux restes d'un théâtre de pierre blanche." Neither of the travellers mentions the stadium.

which the Venetians repaired, when they had in possession the kingdom of Moréa, and were lords of it." Chandler in 1766 searched in vain for the inscription mentioned by Wheler, and found, upon inquiry, that it had been removed to the Museum of Verona.

Pausanias has given the following description of the Isthmic Hierum<sup>a</sup>. "Farther on<sup>b</sup>, a pine tree is still seen, growing by the sea-side; here was<sup>c</sup> the altar of Melicertes<sup>d</sup>: it is said that the dolphin brought the boy [Melicertes or Palæmon] to this place, and that Sisyphus, finding the body, buried it in the Isthmus, and established the contest of the Isthmia in his honour. At the beginning of the isthmus is the place where the robber Sinis &c. \* \* \* \* The Corinthians say that Neptune contended with the Sun for this country; that Briareus, being umpire of the dispute, assigned the Isthmus to Neptune, and to the Sun the hill above the city of Corinth; and that hence the Isthmus became sacred to Neptune. The remarkable objects here are a theatre and a stadium, both constructed

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Corinth. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> *πρὸ τοῦ ὄριος*.

<sup>c</sup> *ἔην*.

<sup>d</sup> The situation of the altar of Melicertes is very uncertain, for the paragraph immediately preceding relates to

the sow Phæa, destroyed by Theseus at Cromyon, which place was more than ten miles distant from the Isthmus. The altar therefore may have been on any part of the intermediate coast.

of white marble. In approaching the temple of Neptune, there are on one side statues of *athletæ*, who have been victorious in the Isthmia, and on the other pine trees, planted for the most part in a straight line<sup>a</sup>. Upon the temple, which is not very large<sup>b</sup>, stand Tritons; in the *pronaos* are two statues of Neptune, one of Amphitrite, and a fourth of the Sea<sup>c</sup>: all these figures are in brass. The dedications within the temple were made in my time, by Herodes the Athenian. They consist of four horses, all gilded<sup>d</sup>, except the hoofs, which are of ivory: two Tritons stand by the horses, golden<sup>e</sup> as far down as the loins, and of ivory below. Amphitrite and Neptune are standing in the chariot, and the boy Palæmon stands upright upon a dolphin: these figures also are of ivory and gold<sup>f</sup>. On the basis which supports the chariot there is a sculpture in relief. In the middle Thalassa supports Venus, who is re-

<sup>a</sup> *πιτύων δένδρα πεφυτευμένα ἐπὶ στοίχου, τὰ πολλὰ ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντα.*

Strabo says of this place only, *Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμίου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἄλλοι πιτυώδει συνηρέφεις.* p. 380.

<sup>b</sup> *τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ μείζονι ἱφιστήκασι Τρίτωνες, &c.*

<sup>c</sup> *Θάλασσα.*

<sup>d</sup> *ἐπιχρυσούς.*

<sup>e</sup> *χρυσοῖ.*

<sup>f</sup> Philostratus informs us that the statues of the god

and goddess were of colossal dimensions; *ἀξιούσθω δὲ λόγου . . . καὶ τὰ Ἰσθμοῖ ἀγάλματα, ὅτε τοῦ Ἰσθμίου Κολοσσὺς καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὧν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνέπλησεν [Herodes] οὐδὲ τὸν τοῦ Μελικίετου παρελθὼν δελφῖνα.* Philostr. in vitâ Herod. c. 5. The four horses, it may be inferred, were also colossal, and, with the exception of the ivory hoofs, seem to have been made entirely of



presented as a child: on either side are the nymphs called Nereides. On the same basis are seen the sons of Neptune and of Tyndarus, for these also are considered salutary to ships and seamen. The other dedications in the temple are statues of Calm, and of the Sea<sup>a</sup>, a horse formed like a whale below the chest, Ino, Bellerophontes, and the horse Pegasus. Within the sacred inclosure to the left, is the temple of Palæmon, containing statues of Neptune, Leucothea, and Palæmon; there is another sacred place called the Adytum<sup>b</sup>, which has a subterraneous entrance<sup>c</sup>, and where Palæmon is said to be concealed. There is also an ancient sanctuary, called the altar of the Cyclopes, where sacrifices are made to them. As to the tombs of Sisyphus and Neleus, it would

gilded brass. The other figures were chryselephantine.

See the ingenious remarks of M. Quatremère on this groupe [Jupiter Olympien, p. 372.] I cannot agree with him, however, in thinking that the Galene, Thalassa, &c. were in relief upon the basis of the chariot: the words of Pausanias, after having described the base, are these ; τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀνάκειται Γαλήνης ἀγάλματα καὶ Θαλάσσης καὶ ἵππος εἰκασμένος κήτει τὰ μετὰ τὸ στέρον, "Ἴνω, &c., where τὰ

δὲ ἄλλα indicate a change in the subject, and where ἀνάκειται shews that the works were separate statues, having no connection with the chariot of Neptune, further than that they were in the same apartment, and had all been dedicated by Herodes. M. Quatremère erroneously supposes that the temple which contained these offerings was in the city of Corinth.

<sup>a</sup> Γαλήνης καὶ Θαλάσσης.

<sup>b</sup> "Αδυτον.

<sup>c</sup> καθοδος ὑπόγειος.

not be possible for any person to find them, even though he had read the verses of Eumelus <sup>a</sup>. \* \* \* \* The celebration of the Isthmic games <sup>b</sup> did not cease, even after the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, but the Sicyonii had the care of them; and, on the restoration of the city, the honour reverted to the new inhabitants."

The situation of the sacred περίβολος, or inclosure, which contained the Temple of Neptune and some other sanctuaries, the manner in which its inclosure was connected with the Isthmic wall, as well as the relative position of the stadium and theatre, are described in the plan of the Sacred Grove, which accompanies this volume.

The ground inclosed by the peribolus was about 640 feet in length; at the southern end it had a breadth of 300 feet, which expanded at the northern end, by means of an oblique wall facing the south-east, to a breadth of 600 feet. I have already remarked, that I found, among the ruins of the peribolus, a part of a fluted Doric shaft, of which the chord of the fluting measured ten

<sup>a</sup> A part of these verses was entitled ἡ Κορινθία συγγράφη, or a description of Corinth; but Pausanias doubts whether it was really written by the

Eumelus, one of the ancient Bacchiadæ, to whom it was ascribed. — Pausan. Corinth. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Ἰσθμικὸς ἀγών.

inches and a half, which is the same as the chord of the fluting at the base of the extant columns at Corinth. If we suppose the number of the flutings to have been twenty, as in the columns at Corinth, the Parthenon, the Theseium, and the far greater number of Doric specimens, it will follow, that the part of the shaft to which the fluting belonged was the same as that of the columns of Corinth at the base; but as it is more likely that the fluting was not exactly from the base, the columns were probably rather larger than those of Corinth. As Pausanias represents the Isthmic Posidonium not to have been of the larger class of temples (*μέγεθος οὐ μείζονι*), we may infer that it was a hexastyle, for an octastyle with such columns would have been not less than ninety feet in breadth. It was consequently not very different in dimensions from the hexastyle of Corinth, or about sixty-five feet in breadth. The southern part of the space inclosed by the peribolus seems to be exactly adapted to the reception of such a temple, for there would remain between it and the peribolus on three sides a breadth something greater than that of the temple, including its stylobate, or basis. The angular portion of the inclosure to the eastward we may suppose to have been occupied by the Palæmonium, which Pausanias describes,

as being within the peribolus to the left<sup>a</sup>. In this angle, also, were probably the Adytum of Palæmon, and the temple of the Cyclopes. The remaining space within the peribolus, eastward of the Palæmonium, and northward of the Posidonium, seems to have been occupied by the avenue which was formed, according to Pausanias, on one side by statues of victors in the Isthmic contest, on the other by a row of pine trees<sup>b</sup>. I should infer also from Strabo, that a grove of these trees occupied all the vacant spaces around the stadium and theatre, as well as the sacred inclosure; so that, in this instance, the word *ἄλσος* appears not to have been applied, as in some others, to a mere nominal grove. From the inscription, copied by Wheler and Spon, now in the Maffei collection at Verona, it appears that there were several buildings at the Isthmic Posidonium, besides those which Pausanias mentions<sup>c</sup>. The inscription records some erections and repairs, executed here by Publius Licinius Priscus Juventianus, who held the office of high priest

<sup>a</sup> Τοῦ Περιβόλου δέ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Παλαίμονος ἐν ἀριστεῖ ἡ ναός.

<sup>b</sup> πιτυῶν.

<sup>c</sup> Θεοῖς Πατρίοις καὶ τῇ Πατρὶδι Πούβλιος Δικίνιος Πουβλίου υἱὸς, Αἰμιλία, Πρεῖσκος Ἰουουεντιανὸς ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου τὰς καταλύσεις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπὶ τὰ Ἴσθμια παραγενομένοις ἀθληταῖς κατεσκεύασεν ὁ αὐτὸς

καὶ τὸ Παλαιμόνιον σὺν τοῖς προσκοσμήμασιν καὶ τὸ ἐναγιστήριον καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν εἴσοδον καὶ τοὺς τῶν πατρῶν θεῶν βωμοὺς σὺν τῷ περιβόλῳ καὶ προνάῳ καὶ τοὺς ἐγκρητίους οἴκους καὶ τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ἄγαλμα καὶ τὸν περίβολον. Τὸν δὲ περίβολον τῆς Ἱερᾶς Νάπης καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ναοὺς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης καὶ

for life, and was probably a wealthy Roman colonist of Corinth. He built lodgings for the use of the *athletæ*, who assembled here from every part of the world, for the Isthmic contest. He restored also the following buildings: the *Palæmonium*, with its decorations; the sanctuary of *Palæmon*, and its sacred avenue; the altars of the patriote deities, with their *peribolus* and *pronaos*; the houses in which the *athletæ* were examined, and in which the adjudication of the contests took place; the temple of the Sun, together with its statue and *peribolus*. He erected, moreover, at his own expense, the *peribolus* of the Sacred Grove, and within it temples of *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Bacchus*, and *Diana*, together with their statues and decorations, and *pronaï*. He repaired the temples of *Abundance* and *Proserpine*, and the temple of *Pluto*, and the steps and substructions, which had been dilapidated by the effect of earthquakes or antiquity; and he dedicated a portico at the *Stadium*, as well as arched apartments, and their decorations, for the use of the superintendant of the *Agora*.

Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος σὺν τοῖς  
ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλμασιν καὶ προσκοσ-  
μήμασιν καὶ προνάοις ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων  
ἐποίησεν· καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς Εὐετηρίας  
καὶ τῆς Κίρης καὶ τὸ Πλουτῶνειον  
καὶ τὰς ἀναδῶσεις καὶ τὰ ἀνα-

λήμματα ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καὶ παλαιό-  
τητος διαλελυμένα ἐπεσκεύασεν·  
ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν στόαν τὴν πρὸς  
τῷ Σταδίῳ σὺν τοῖς κεκαμαρωμέ-  
νοις οἴκοις καὶ προσκοσμήμασιν  
ἀγορανομίας ἀνέθηκεν.

Ὑποσχεσις Π. Δικινίου Πρέσβου

Ἐάν μοι πωλήσητε τῆς καλουμένης Ρηγλίας . . . .

Maffei Mus. Veron. tom. i. p. 137.



Of the places here mentioned, the Palæonium and Stadium are noticed under those names by Pausanias. The *ἄγιστήριον* and its *ἱερὰ εἴσοδος* are evidently the same as the secret sanctuary<sup>a</sup> of Palæmon and its subterraneous entrance<sup>b</sup>, mentioned by Pausanias. That which the latter describes as a sanctuary containing altars of the Cyclopes, accords perfectly also with that which in the inscription is designated as the altars of local deities, having a pronaos and peribolus. As to the other buildings which were repaired by Juventianus, namely, the temples of the Sun, of Abundance, of Proserpine, and of Pluto, the silence of Pausanias concerning them may be ascribed, perhaps, to their ruinous condition when he visited the Isthmus. The temples of Ceres, Proserpine, Bacchus, and Diana, as well as the wall which surrounded the whole Sacred Grove, comprehending probably the Hierum, Theatre, and Stadium, we may conclude to have been erected for the first time by Juventianus, who appears, therefore, to have lived, or at least to have executed these works, after the time of Pausanias.

The Isthmus, a word of uncertain origin, and which, from being the proper name of this place, has been adopted as a general term for the neck

<sup>a</sup> ἄδυτον.

<sup>b</sup> κατήοδος ὑπόγειος.

of a peninsula, comprehended in its more extended sense the whole Corinthian plain lying between the two seas: the narrowest part, from Schœnus to the eastern extremity of the bay of Lechæum, was distinguished as the Diolcus, or place where vessels were dragged across<sup>a</sup>. By Diodorus, Strabo, and Scylax, the breadth of the Isthmus is stated at forty stades, by Pliny at five miles, and by Lucian at twenty stades<sup>b</sup>, which is as much below the truth as the former distance is above it, the real breadth being about three English miles and a half in direct distance. Mela, therefore, is correct in estimating the isthmus as four Roman miles in breadth, if we take it as road distance.

As nothing can be more obvious and natural than the project of erecting works of defence across the Isthmus, for the protection of the peninsula, or than the more important design of cutting a canal through it, by which its defensive strength would be increased, at the same time that a circuitous and often a dangerous navigation round the southern end of the peninsula would be avoided; so we find, that both these operations are often alluded to in ancient

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 380. Pompon. Mel. l. 2. c. 3.—Hesych. in Δ'ιολλος.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. l. 11. c. 16. —

Strabo, p. 334, 335.—Scylax in Pelopon.—Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 4. c. 4.—Lucian. Nero, seu de Foss. Isthmi.

history. The latter, partly owing to the real difficulty of the undertaking, and partly to the facility with which vessels so small as those employed by the ancients were dragged across<sup>a</sup> the Isthmus, has never been effected. Of all the persons who entertained the project of cutting through the Isthmus, the Roman emperor Nero seems to have been the only one who ever really made the attempt. Neither Periander<sup>b</sup>, nor Demetrius Poliorcetes<sup>c</sup>, nor Julius Cæsar<sup>d</sup>, nor Caligula<sup>e</sup>, nor Atticus Herodes<sup>f</sup>, appear to have done more than meditate such an ope-

<sup>a</sup> The frequency of this practice is shewn by the employment of a verb to express it: διισθμεῖν, διῖσθμονίσαι.

<sup>b</sup> ἦθελε [Periander] δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν διορύξαι. Diogen. Laert. l. 1. segm. 99.

<sup>c</sup> φησὶ γὰρ [Eratosthenes] καὶ Δημήτριον διακόπτειν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων Ἴσθμὸν, πρὸς τὸ παρασχεῖν διάπλουν τοῖς στόλοις· κωλυθῆναι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ἀναμετρησάντων καὶ ἀπαγγειλάντων μετεωρότεραν τὴν ἐν τῷ Κορινθιακῷ κόλπῳ θάλατταν τῆς κατὰ Κεγχρῆας εἶναι. Strabo, p. 54.

<sup>d</sup> . . . τά τε ἔλλοι οἱ [Cæsari] τὰ Πόντινα χῶσαι καὶ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὸν τῆς Πελοποννήσου διορύξαι προσέταξαν [Romani]. Dion. Cass. l. 44. c. 5.—Διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς στρατείας τὸν τε Κορινθίων Ἴσθμὸν ἐπεχείρει διασκάπτειν, &c.

Plutarch. in J. Cæs.— . . . perfodere Isthmum, Dacos coercere, &c. Talia agentem atque meditantem mors prævenit. Sueton. in J. Cæsar. c. 44.

<sup>e</sup> Destinaverat et . . . ante omnia Isthmum in Achaja perfodere: miseratque jam ad demetiendum opus primipilarem. Sueton. in vit. Caligulæ, c. 21.

<sup>f</sup> . . . μέγα οὐδὲν εἰργασθαι ᾧετο [Herodes] ἐπεὶ μὴ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔτεμε. Philostrat. in v. Sophist. l. 2. c. 6.—“perfodere navigabili alveo angustias tentare Demetrius rex, dictator Cæsar, Caius Princeps, Domitius Nero, infausto ut omnium patuit exitu incepto.” Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 4. c. 4.

ration. Nero, on the contrary, really began the work, superintended it in person, and, for the sake of example, assisted in the labour; but he had only wrought five or six days, and advanced four stades, when the report of conspiracies at Rome, and the intelligence of those disaffections in the Roman army in Gaul which soon afterwards broke out in the rebellion of Vindex, obliged him to abandon the attempt, under the same pretext, of an inequality of level in the two seas<sup>a</sup>, which had before served as an excuse to Demetrius<sup>b</sup>. The words of Dion Cassius, Suetonius, and Lucian, but especially those of the last author, clearly shew, that the canal of Nero was begun at the Diolcus, or narrowest part of the Isthmus, and not at Lechæum, as Dr. Chandler supposed. Philostratus, indeed, uses the words ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεχαίου: but it was customary to call the part of the Saronic gulf bordering on the eastern shore of the Isthmus, the sea of Cenchreïæ, and the Corinthian bay, on the opposite shore, the sea

<sup>a</sup> . . . . ὁρέξαντος δ' αὐτῷ  
 χερσὴν δίκηλλαν τοῦ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 ἐπιτροπεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν ὄρυχὴν  
 ἤξε [Nero] . . . τοῖς τὴν  
 ὄρυχὴν πεπιστευμένοις παρακελευ-  
 σάμενος ξυμπόνως ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ  
 ἔργου, ἀνῆει εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον . .  
 ἔφασαν δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους γεωμε-  
 τροῦντας τῆς ἑκατέρας θαλάσσης

τᾶς φύσεις οὐκ ἰσοπέδοις αὐταῖς  
 συντυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑψηλότεραν ἡγου-  
 μένους τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαίου περὶ  
 τῇ Αἰγίνῃ δεδοίκεναι. Lucian.  
 de Foss. Isthmi.—V. et Phi-  
 lost. in Apollon. Tyan. l. 4.  
 c. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo, p. 54. Vide suprâ.

of Lechæum, as appears from passages of Pausanias and Strabo cited below <sup>a</sup>, as well as from Diodorus <sup>b</sup>, who, in speaking of the wall erected by the Peloponnesians against Xerxes, calls it the wall from Lechæum to Cenchreïæ, though the length of forty stades, which he ascribes to it, added to the evidence of Herodotus <sup>c</sup>, are decisive, that he meant, not a line between the harbours of Lechæum and Cenchreïæ, but the *Diolcus*. There remains little doubt, therefore, that the canal of which some vestiges are still to be seen in the narrowest part of the Isthmus, near the shore of the bay of *Lechæum*, was the work of Nero. The excavation has now little depth; but it is 200 feet wide, and is traceable for about 1200 yards, in a direction at right angles to the shore, crossing the greater part of the level ground which here borders the sea and extends not much farther than the end of the trench; the remainder of the *Diolcus* consists of a valley somewhat elevated above the sea, and bordered to the south by a range of

<sup>a</sup> Καθίκει δὲ ὁ τῶν Κορινθίων Ἰσθμὸς τῇ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρεῆας τῇ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαιῶν θάλασσαν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡπειρον ποιεῖ τὴν ἐντὸς χώραν ὃς δὲ ἐπεχείρησε Πελοπόννησον ἐργάζεσθαι νῆσον προαπέλιπε διορύσσων Ἰσθμόν· καὶ ὅθεν μὲν διορύσσειν ἤρξαντο δῆλόν ἐστιν, εἰς δὲ τὸ πετρῶδες οὐ προσχώρησαν ἀρχήν· μένει δὲ ὡς

ἐπεφύκει καὶ νῦν ἡπειρος ὤν. Pausan. l. 2. c. 1.—[τὴν θάλασσαν] τὴν κατὰ τὸ Λεχαιὸν καὶ τὴν περὶ Κεγχρεῆας. Strabo, p. 56.

<sup>b</sup> οἱ μὲν Πελοποννήσιοι ὠχύρουν τὸ τεῖχος διατεῖνον ἐπὶ σταδίου τετταράκοντα ἀπὸ Λεχαιῶν μέχρι Κεγχρεῶν. Diod. Sicul. l. 11. c. 16.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. l. 8. c. 71.



low cliffs. The rising ground, of which the cliffs are the termination, becomes blended, towards the *Posidonium*, with the heights which, branching from the foot of the *Oneia*, follow the shore of the *Saronic* gulf as far as *Cenchreia*, leaving only, at the head of Port *Schænus*, a small plain nearly on a level with the sea. The length of the trench, as just stated, is not very different from the four stades to which Dio limits the extent of Nero's progress, while its termination where the ground begins to rise is precisely in conformity with the words of Pausanias<sup>a</sup>, who evidently alludes to this attempt of Nero, though he has not named the emperor. "He who attempted", says the Greek traveller, "to make the Peloponnesus an island, by digging a trench through the Isthmus, was obliged to desist from the operation. Where they began to excavate is still manifest; but they did not carry forward the work to the rocky ground, so that the Peloponnesus remains as before a part of the continent."<sup>b</sup> Dr. Chandler, indeed, thought he had actually traced the beginning of Nero's canal near Lechæum, where are some appearances of an excavation; but Nero himself could hardly have been so absurd as to attempt an excavation of seven miles, when one of half that distance would have attained his object much

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Corinth. c. 1.<sup>b</sup> καὶ νῦν ἡκείρας ὤν.

better. It is evident, from what has already been said as to the nature of the ground, that the defossion of the Isthmus would be a work sufficiently difficult in the narrowest part.

To fortify it is a much easier operation, and accordingly we still trace, as I have already remarked, the remains of a Hellenic wall, flanked with towers from the bay of Schœnus to that of Lechæum. Wheler, who observed this fortification, supposed it to have been the work of the Lacedæmonians. The only authority that I can find to countenance this supposition is Diodorus, who states, that the Peloponnesians, at the time of the Persian invasion, *strengthened* the wall<sup>a</sup> across the Isthmus; which seems as if some permanent work had previously existed. The far better evidence of Herodotus<sup>b</sup>, however, speaks only, on that occasion, of one of those field works often executed in the wars of Greece for temporary purposes, and which were composed of rude stones, bricks, timber, and earth. Neither Thucydides nor Xenophon allude to any lines of defence, as having formed an obstacle on any of the occasions on which they describe the hostile pro-

<sup>a</sup> ὡχύρουν τὸ τεῖχος.

<sup>b</sup> καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφορέοντο καὶ ἐλίνυον οὐ-

δένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας.

Herodot. l. 8. c. 71.

gress of troops through the Isthmus ; and Diodorus describes that which was erected when Athens, Sparta, and Corinth endeavoured to defend the Isthmus against the Bœotians<sup>a</sup>, [B.C. 368,] as nothing more than a ditch and palisade.

Nevertheless, it is certain, that there was at one time a permanent fortification, since its remains, built in the manner of the best times, still attest the fact. It began at the shore of the bay of Lechæum, about three quarters of a mile southward of the canal of Nero, and extended across the narrowest part of the Isthmus to the bay of Schœnus. It was constructed of a masonry rather regular, and such as does not seem to indicate a very remote antiquity. It was flanked with square towers on the northern side, shewing that it was intended for the protection of the Isthmus towards the Megaris. It followed the crest of the low cliffs already mentioned wherever this natural advantage offered itself ; and in some parts there are traces of the

<sup>a</sup> ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἀπὸ Κεγχρεῶν  
μέχρι Λεχάίου σταυρώμασιν καὶ  
βαθείαις τάφροις διελάμβανον τὸν  
τόπον. Diodor. Sic. l. 15. c.  
68. The historian here meant,  
as in the former passage, not  
Cenchreïæ and Lechæum, but  
the narrowest part of the

Isthmus. Xenophon, [l. 7.  
c. 1.] it is to be observed,  
makes no mention of this field  
work, but states the unsuccessful  
resistance against Epaminondas  
on this occasion to have been made  
in the passes of the Oneia.

wall having had the additional defence of a ditch. Some wells are visible also in the line of the ditch, which were, perhaps, no more than excavations for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of the soil when the formation of a canal was intended. At the western end the line terminated in a square fortress, standing upon the shore of the bay of Lechæum. Of this the foundations still remain, and have served to form part of a similar work, which in later times has been erected upon it; and of which the last repairs were probably made by the Venetians<sup>a</sup>. I have already described the termination of the Isthmic wall at the eastern end; and thus no doubt can remain, that a line of permanent fortification existed at some period of ancient history. It seems most probable, that it was a work of the Corinthians, and was, perhaps, a

<sup>a</sup> The Hexamili, or *Diolcus*, was fortified by the Greek emperor Emmanuel in 1413: this fortification was destroyed by Amurat II. in 1424. In 1463, Loredano, the Venetian admiral, and Bartholdo d'Este, commander of the land forces, which were then encamped before Corinth, employed 30,000 men upon the lines of Hexamili for fifteen days; but they were hardly

completed when, Bartholdo having been killed, and the Turks approaching with a force of 80,000 men, the Venetians abandoned not only the lines, but their position also before Corinth. By the treaty of Carlowitz, in 1699, the line of the old works (*li vestiggj dell'antica muraglia*) was the boundary of the peninsula, as ceded to the Venetians.

part of that system for defending the Corinthia, and at the same time for obtaining the command of the entrance into the Peloponnesus, which the position of Corinth naturally suggested, and of the existence of which some proofs have already been given from ancient history.

In returning from the Isthmus to Corinth late in the evening, I pass by the copious sources of water mentioned by Wheler, which are a mile and a half from the modern town, on the road to the western end of the Isthmus.

I shall now subjoin a few remarks on the subordinate positions of the Corinthia. By Pausanias this district was considered a part of the Argeia<sup>a</sup>; and this he repeats, by remarking, in allusion to the testimony of Homer, that the Corinthians were always subject in ancient times to those who ruled at Argos and Mycenæ<sup>b</sup>. Another reason for his placing Corinthia as well as Sicyonia under the same division of his work

<sup>a</sup> Ἡ δὲ Κορινθία μοῖρα οὖσα τῆς Ἀργείας. 1. 2. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> 1. 2. c. 4. Hence it would seem, that the second book of Pausanias should have been intitled Argolica, instead of Corinthiaca. It is to be observed, however, that this and the other provincial titles were not attached to the divisions of his work by the

author himself, for Stephanus of Byzantium refers constantly to the books of the Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος by their numbers, without any other title. In other respects, it is evident that the work of Pausanias is arranged as he wrote it, and that it describes very nearly the order of his travels.



as Argeia was, that Corinth and Sicyon<sup>a</sup>, as well as Argos became Doric cities after the return of the Heracleidæ, and thus were distinguished by dialect from Achaia. The Corinthia extended twenty miles in one direction from near Pagæ, on the shore of the north-eastern arm of the Corinthiac gulf, to the borders of Epidauria, on the Saronic gulf, and thirty in the other direction, from the confines of Phliasia and Argolis to those of Megaris at the precipitous coast called the Scironian rocks<sup>b</sup>.

In quitting Athens, Pausanias pursues the direct route to the Isthmus, by Eleusis, Megara, and the Scironian rocks. He included the Megaris in his book relating to Attica, in conformity with the ancient partition, before the Megaris became Doric, and when Ionia began at the Isthmus, as the Isthmic column testified<sup>c</sup>. His Corinthiacs, therefore, open at the boundaries of the Megaris and Corinthia, at the western extremity of the Scironides, near a temple of

<sup>a</sup> l. 2. c. 6 *ad fin.*

<sup>b</sup> Πέτραι, Σκιρωνίδες, Saxa Scironia.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. Attic. c. 39.—

Strabo, p. 392. The inscription on the Peloponnesian side of the column was—

Τάδ' ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐκ Ἰωνία.

On its opposite side was—

Τάδ' οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος, ἀλλ' Ἰωνία.

Apollo Latous. Here began a succession of narrow valleys at the foot of the mountains Oneia, extending twelve miles along the shore of the Saronic gulf, as far as the port Schoenus, or eastern extremity of the Isthmus properly so called. All this tract appears to have been called the Crommyonia<sup>a</sup>. The only place mentioned in it by Pausanias is Crommyon; but we know from other authors, that there was likewise a town or fortress, named Sidus, between Crommyon and the Isthmus<sup>b</sup>. It sufficiently appears, from Thucydides, Strabo, and Pausanias<sup>c</sup>, that Crommyon itself was not far from the Scironides, which, as we have already seen, were the boundary of the Megaris. Near Kinéta, a village not far from the western termination of the rocks, which is built like Megara with

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. l. 4. c. 42, *et seq.*  
—Strabo, pp. 380. 391.

<sup>b</sup> Πραξίτας [profectus a Corintho] ἤγε ἐπὶ Μέγαρα καὶ αἰρεῖ προσθαλῶν πρῶτον μὲν Σιδούντα, ἔπειτα δὲ Κρωμμύνα. Xenoph. Hellen. l. 4. c. 4.—Ἔστι καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ χώρα Κορινθίοις καὶ τεῖχος Σιδούς καὶ ἕτερον τεῖχος Κρεμμυῶν. Scylax in Corinthia.—In orâ portus Schœnus, oppida Sidus, Cremmyon, Scironia saxa. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 4. c. 7.—Atheneus [l. 3. c. 7.] quotes Arei-

anus and Artemidorus to prove, ὅτι ἡ Σιδούς τῶν Κορινθίων ἐστὶ κώμη, and cites two verses of Nicander to shew, that it was famous for its apples. These, it is probable, grew upon the mountains above Sidus, for no good apples are produced in the lower and hotter situations of Greece.

<sup>c</sup> . . . ἐς Κρωμμύωνα τῆς Κορινθίας ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς πόλεως εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίου. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 45.—Strabo, Pausan., *ubi sup.*

flat roofs, and is situated in a valley planted with olives, there are some vestiges which indicate that Crommyon occupied nearly the same site. Sidus appears to have been at Kassídhi, midway between Kinéta and port Kalamáki, the ancient Schoenus. Wheler makes no mention of Kassídhi; but he remarked the ruins of a monument about midway between Megara and Corinth, which is precisely the position of Kassídhi<sup>a</sup>. Some remains of Hellenic buildings are still to be seen there, but the greater part of what Wheler saw has probably been long since carried away for the purpose of being employed in the erection of new buildings in the islands or on the coasts of Greece.

The topography of the Corinthian coast on the opposite side of the Saronic gulf, to the south-eastward of Cenchreïæ, is illustrated by some military occurrences in the Peloponnesian war<sup>b</sup>. We learn from Thucydides, that, at a distance of about eight miles from Corinth and

<sup>a</sup> He describes it as "an ancient monument, raised three or four yards from the ground, and eight feet square. About it lay several large planks of marble, some with basso relievos upon them, and some without; one of which hath a

man walking and a horse passing by him the other way; another hath a figure in a lying posture, but much defaced." Wheler's Travels, p. 436.

<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. l. 4. c. 42.

four from Cenchreïæ, there was a mountain called Solygius, of which, in ancient times, the Dorians had taken possession, making war from thence upon the Corinthians when the latter were of Æolic race. In the time of Thucydides it was the position of a town called Solygeia<sup>a</sup>. In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, (B. c. 425,) a body of Athenians disembarked from the fleet commanded by Nicias at a place between Rheitus and Chersonesus, twelve stades below Mount Solygius, sixty stades from Corinth, and twenty from the Isthmus; by which last expression the historian probably meant the nearest part of the Isthmic plain behind Cenchreïæ. The distances fix the place of debarkation in the bay below Galatáki, about three miles to the southward of Kekhriés. Chersonesus is evidently that peninsula which bounds the bay to the north-westward near the tepid stream, which was anciently called the Bath of Helene. Rheitus was probably the harbour sheltered by a small island, which is situated at three geographical miles and a half in direct distance to the south-east of Kekhriés.

The Corinthians, who came out of the city

<sup>a</sup> The ancient cemetery between Mertési and Galatáki, where a very ancient vase was

found, which Mr. Dodwell procured at Corinth, belonged probably to Solygeia.

to oppose the enemy, stationed half their forces at Cenchreïæ, in order to succour Crommyon, should the Athenians make any sudden movement by sea against that place; and with the remainder they moved in two columns, one to occupy Solygeia, which was not fortified, the other to engage the Athenians, who were drawn up on the sea-shore in front of the Chersonesus<sup>a</sup>. The Corinthians being repulsed after a very vigorous assault, retired a little way up the slope; then assailing the enemy from above with stones, and singing the pæan, they rushed again to the attack, and drove a part of the Athenian right to the sea. At length, being once more repulsed, and having lost in their retreat one of their two commanders and a great number of their men, they made no further attempt<sup>b</sup>.

Thucydides accounts for the Corinthians at Cenchreïæ not having advanced immediately to the assistance of their comrades by the inter-

<sup>a</sup> πρὸ τῆς Χερσονήσου.

<sup>b</sup> Polyænus (in Strateg. l. 1. c. 39.) represents, that Nicias gained his advantage by having placed a part of his force in ambuscade in a previous landing, and that these fell upon the rear of the Corinthians when they advanced

to oppose the second debarkation of Nicias; but this story, being so different from the narrative of the author who obtained his information at the time the event took place, is not deserving of much credit.



position of the hill Oneium, which prevented them from seeing the transactions near Solygeia; as soon as the dust which arose from the scene of action informed them of what was passing, they moved forward from Cenchreïæ. The Athenians, finding that not only these troops were marching against them, but also the remaining men of Corinth, who had before been left in the city as having passed the military age, retired to their gallies, and crossed over to the neighbouring islands. It appears from this narrative, that Thucydides gives the name of Oneium to the ridge already often mentioned, which borders the Isthmus on the south-east, stretching from the Bath of Helene and Cenchreïæ to the river on the eastern side of the Acro-Corinthus. Polybius and Plutarch assign the same appellation to this ridge, when they relate that Cleomenes fortified with an entrenchment, the ravine which separates this mountain from the Acro-Corinthus<sup>a</sup>. It appears, therefore, that all the heights bordering upon the Isthmus, as well those on the southern as on the northern side, were called Oneia. To the northward, according to Strabo, they comprehended all the mountains of Megaris, as far as Mount Cithæron. Undoubtedly all the principal sum-

<sup>a</sup> διαλαβὼν χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ  
τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον τοῦ τε Ἀκροκο-  
ρίνθου καὶ τῶν Ὀνείων καλουμένων

ὄρεων. Polyb. l. 2. c. 52. Vide  
et Plutarch. in Cleomen.

mits of the latter range had specific appellations, although that of one only has reached us, namely, Geraneia.

Beyond the coast of Solygeia, to the south-eastward, there was a harbour, called Peiræus; it was the scene of a remarkable occurrence in the twentieth year of the Peloponnesian War, B.C. 412. The Peloponnesian fleet, which had sailed from Cenchreïæ for the purpose of crossing the Ægæan Sea to Chius, to assist the islanders in their revolt against Athens, was chased by the Athenian fleet into Peiræus, where the Athenians obtained a victory, in which Alcamenes, the Peloponnesian commander, was slain. Twenty of the Peloponnesian ships were afterwards blockaded in Peiræus, by an equal number of Athenians, during a great part of the summer, and until the former, suddenly advancing against the blockading force, captured four ships, and made good their passage to Cenchreïæ. The historian informs us, that Peiræus was an uninhabited harbour, near the boundaries of the Corinthia and Epidauria<sup>a</sup>, and that, during the blockade, the Athenian fleet was sheltered by a neighbouring island. The natural limit of the two districts is the rugged ridge, which, descending from Mount *Arachnæum*, forms a cape, opposite to which there is a range of small islands, extending to Ægina. There cannot therefore

<sup>a</sup> λίμνην ἱζημος καὶ ἴσχατος πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας.

be any doubt that Peiræus was the land-locked harbour, now called Frango-Limióna, and that the island opposite to the entrance of the harbour was that which sheltered the squadron of the Athenians. It is now called Ovrio-nísi, or Ovriókastro, Jew's Castle, which appellation is derived from some ruins in the island, but of what date or description I am not informed. For the other places on this part of the Corinthiac coast, we have no better authorities than Pliny and Ptolemy, whose evidence nearly agrees as to the places situated between Epidaurus and Cenchreïæ, but who, by not having repeated any of the names of Thucydides, have added little or nothing to his information. In the place of port Peiræus, they both name a cape Spiræum<sup>a</sup>, by which they perhaps meant the projection of the coast, at which the harbour of Frango-Limióna is situated.

In the part of the Corinthia, adjacent to the shore of the Corinthiac Gulf, or Sea Alcyonis, as Strabo calls it<sup>b</sup>, there was a fortress called

<sup>a</sup> Spiræum promontorium, portus Anthedon et Bucephalus. Plin. l. 4. c. 5.

<sup>Ε</sup>πίδαυρος, Σπίρσαιον ἄκρον, Ἀθηναίων λιμὴν, Βουκέφαλον λιμὴν, Κεγχρεαί ἐπίνειον. Ptolem. l. 3. c. 16.

It might be suspected that the harbour of the Athenians

and Piræus were one and the same, but Stephanus (in Ἀνθηδών) shews that there was a λιμὴν Ἀνθηδόνης: so that it would seem that the Ἀθηναίων of Ptolemy requires correction, rather than the Anthedon of Pliny.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo, pp. 336. 393. 400.

Ænoe. Strabo mentions it twice, and in the latter of the two passages refers to the former<sup>a</sup>. Ænoe stood between Cape Olmiæ and Pagæ of the Megaris, of which place, so often alluded to in the history of Greece, the remains are found at the harbour now called Psathó. There may be some doubt whether Olmiæ was the promontory now called Melangávi (Black Cape) upon which stood the Heræum, or temple of Juno Acræa, or whether it was another projection to the north-eastward of the Heræum, immediately opposite to the small islands called Kalá Nisiá, and to Mount Korombíli, on the *Bæotian* coast. The reasons for believing that it was the latter promontory are, 1. That Plutarch and Livy, the latter of whom exactly describes the position of Cape Melangávi<sup>b</sup>, give it no other name than that of Heræum, or the promontory of Juno:

<sup>a</sup> Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ Λεχαίου καὶ Παγῶν τὸ τῆς Ἀκραίας μαντεῖον Ἡρας ὑπῆρχε τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ αἱ Ὀλμιαί τὸ ποιοῦν ἀκρωτήριον τὸν κύλπον ἐν ᾧ ἦτε Οἰνὼ καὶ Παγαί, τὸ μὲν τῶν Μεγαρέων φρούριον ἡ δὲ Οἰνὼ τῶν Κορινθίων. Strabo, p. 380. . . . εἰς Κρήουσαν . . . ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἑκατὸν ἑκοσι ἕως τῆς Ἀκρας ἦν [Ὀλμιάς] καλοῦσι· ἐν δὲ τῷ κοινοτάτῳ τοῦ κύλπου τούτου συμβέβηκε τὰς Πηγάς κεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν Οἰνὼν, περὶ ἧς εἰρήκαμεν. Strabo, p. 409. Ænoe was a very common name in Greece. There were two Attic demi of that

name, one of which was only twenty miles distant from the Corinthian Ænoe. There was a fourth in the opposite direction, in the Argeia.

<sup>b</sup> Promontorium est adversus Sicyonem Junonis, quam vocant Acræam, in altum excurrens; trajectory inde Corinthum septem millia ferme passuum: eo Philocles regius et ipse præfectus, mille et quingentos milites Bæotiam duxit; præsto fuere ab Corintho lembi, qui præsidium id

2. that supposing Strabo to have written Ὀλμιάς in the doubtful passage cited in the note, the distance of 120 stades from *Creusis*, now *Livadostro*, to *Olmiaë*, will agree much better with the reality, on the supposition that *Olmiaë* was the north-eastern of the two capes: 3. that the promontory of *Juno* would be more correctly described, as forming, together with *Sicyon*, the entrance of the bay of *Corinth*, than as forming, together with *Creusis*, the inner branch of the sea *Alcyonis*, in which *Pagæ* was situated; the latter being the description which Strabo gives of *Olmiaë*. In either case it is probable that *Ænoë* stood near *Bíssia*; that place being situated, as Strabo describes *Ænoë*, towards the innermost part of the gulf<sup>a</sup>, whereas the coast between the two capes, or below *Perakhóra*, will not well answer to such a description, and was, moreover, in all probability, the district of another ancient place, which stood on or near the site of *Perakhóra*. That place was *Peiræum*, a town or fortress of the *Corinthia*, which was the scene of an exploit of *Agesilaus*<sup>b</sup>, soon after the attack which he and his brother *Teleutias* made upon *Corinth* by land and sea, in the year B.C. 393. The

acceptum *Lechæum* trajicerent. Tit. Liv. Hist. l. 32. c. 23.

<sup>a</sup> ἐν τῷ κοιλοτάτῳ τοῦ κόλπου.

<sup>b</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 4. c. 5. Xenoph. et Plutarch. in *Agesil.*



modern name, indeed, seems only to be a modification of the ancient with the same meaning, both of them being derived from the position of this part of the Corinthia over against Corinth, or *beyond* the bay of Lechæum <sup>a</sup>.

Agesilaus, whose forces were in possession of Lechæum, having received intelligence at Sparta that Peiræum was extremely useful to the Corinthians, that many persons were subsisted there, and that the cattle which supplied the city with provision was there chiefly collected, resolved upon another expedition to Corinth, for the sake of attacking Peiræum. As it happened to be the period of the Isthmic festival, of which the Argives in Corinth had usurped the management, Agesilaus first marched to the Isthmus. On his approach the Argives retreated into Corinth, by the way of Cenchreïæ; the Corinthian refugees then completed the sacrifices and games in the presence of the Lacedæmonians, and on the fourth day the king proceeded towards Peiræum. Finding that the place was strongly garrisoned, he made a sudden counter-march towards Corinth, which induced the Corinthians to recal Iphicrates from Peiræum, with the greater part of the peltastæ. As soon

<sup>a</sup> Thucydides uses ἡ Πειραιῶν or ἡ περὶ γῆ indifferently, as applied to a district on

the Oropian frontier of Attica. Thucyd. 1. 2. c. 23. l. 3. c. 91.

as Agesilaus learnt that these troops had crossed over in the night to Corinth <sup>a</sup>, he moved again towards Peiræum, and encamped that evening at the Therma, or Warm Sources, sending forward the mora which accompanied him, to occupy the summit of the mountain above the Therma. Here, being in their summer dresses, they suffered greatly from the cold, in consequence of the height of the hill, and a recent fall of rain and hail. To remedy the inconvenience, Agesilaus sent up to them several earthen vessels, containing fire; and wood being abundant on the mountain, they were thus enabled to make large fires, and to dress their suppers. While thus employed, they beheld at a distance the conflagration of the Temple of Neptune, at the Isthmus, which was burnt that night; it was not known by what means. As soon as the Corinthians at Peiræum ascertained that the heights were in possession of the Lacedæmonians, they retired to the Heræum, with their women, slaves, and cattle. While Agesilaus marched thither along the shore, the mora descended from the heights, and captured the fortress Cœnoe, together with all the stores which it contained. On the approach of Agesilaus, those who were in the Heræum surrendered at discretion. Very soon afterwards, while the king

<sup>a</sup> παρεληλυθότας.

was seated at a round building, near the shore of the harbour <sup>a</sup>, examining the spoil and captives which were brought out of the Heræum, a horseman arrived in great haste to inform him that the Amyclæan mora, which had marched out from Lechæum towards Sicyon, on its return to Sparta, to attend the Hyacinthian festival at Amyclæ, had been followed by a body of peltastæ, under Iphicrates, and had lost 250 men <sup>b</sup>. Agesilaus, with some of his officers, set out immediately towards Lechæum, leaving orders for the troops to follow as soon as they had dined. When he had passed the Therma, and had arrived in the plain of Lechæum, a messenger met him, announcing that the mora had been succoured, and had re-entered Lechæum, and that the dead bodies had been brought off. After a short halt, therefore, he returned to the Heræum.

On the next day the captives were sold ; on the following, Agesilaus marched to the place between Lechæum and Sicyon, where the Amyclæi had been defeated, cutting down and burning the trees as a defiance to the Corinthians,

<sup>a</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λιμένα κυκλοτεροῦς οἰκοδομήματος.

<sup>b</sup> Their loss had been occasioned by their consisting entirely of hoplitæ, and by their having no light armed

to oppose to the peltastæ of Iphicrates, so that they could not pursue the lighter peltastæ, nor avoid the effects of the missiles of the latter on their right or unshielded side.

but not disturbing the trophy which had been erected by Iphicrates. After these transactions he sent back to Creusis some Bœotian deputies whom he had found at the Heræum, whither they had been sent to treat for peace, and returned to Sparta with the remains of the defeated mora, leaving another in garrison at Lechæum. Not long afterwards Iphicrates retook Crommyon, Sidus, and CEnoe.

The Thërma, or Warm Sources, at which Agesilaus encamped on the night before the capture of CEnoe and the Heræum, are found at the foot of the mountain of Perakhóra, on the coast of the Corinthian bay, immediately opposite to Lechæum. The harbour of the Heræum, on the shore of which stood the circular building, appears to be that on the eastern side of the cape, now called Agrió, where vessels often seek shelter from the westerly winds, to which the roadsted of Lechæum is much exposed.

I have been the more particular in following the expressions of Xenophon in the preceding narrative, because some readers may be inclined to apply the transaction to the harbour Peiræus, in the Saronic Gulf, and this is the more likely to happen as, besides the similarity of name, there are some other coincidences in the two districts. The Warm Sources near Cenchreïæ,

anciently called the Bath of Helene, correspond to the Lutra; the mountain above the Bath of Helene is similar to that which was occupied by the Lacedæmonian mora between the Lutra and Perakhóra; and in both places the road beyond the Warm Sources led along the seashore. The mention, however, which Xenophon makes of Lechæum and its plain, as well as of the Heræum, of Œnoe, and of Creusis, leave no doubt, that the district of Perakhóra was the scene of the transactions which he has described.

Of all the subordinate places of the Corinthia, the most important was Teneæ. Strabo thus speaks of it <sup>a</sup>: “To the Corinthia also belongs the town <sup>b</sup> Teneæ, where is the temple of Apollo Teneates. It is said, that the greater part of the followers of Archias, when he was sent to found the colony of Syracuse, were of Teneæ; that the place was afterwards the most prosperous of any of the towns of the Corinthia; and that, having joined the Romans against the Corinthians, it subsisted when its capital was destroyed.” <sup>c</sup> Strabo adds, that Teneæ and Tenedos had a common origin in Tennus the son of Cycnus, and cites Aristotle in support of this

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 380.

<sup>b</sup> κώμη.

<sup>c</sup> Hence the oracle or proverb

Εὐδαίμων ὁ Κόρινθος, ἐγὰρ δ' εἶναι Τενεάτης.



opinion. It was at Teneæ that Polybus, king of Corinth, was said to have nourished Œdipus, the king's shepherds having found him on Mount Cithæron, where he had been exposed by his father Laius<sup>a</sup>.

Pausanias bestows only a few words on Teneæ: "on the side of the Acro-Corinthus,"<sup>b</sup> he says, "towards the mountains are the Teneatic gate, and a temple of Lucina, about sixty stades beyond which is the place called Teneæ. The natives say that they are originally Trojans, that they were brought from Troy by the Greeks as prisoners; that Agamemnon gave them this place for a habitation; and that, in consequence of their origin from Troy, they worship Apollo beyond the other gods." It can hardly be doubted, I think, from the former part of this passage, that Teneæ occupied the valley watered by the river which issues through the opening on the eastern side of the Acro-Corinthus into the Isthmic plain; and this locality is confirmed by Stephanus, who describes Teneæ as situated between Corinth and Mycenæ<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 380.—Apollod. l. 3. c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου τραπέισι τὴν ὄρεινὴν πύλην τέ ἐστιν ἡ

Τενατικὴ καὶ Εἰληθυίας ἱερὸν. Pausan. Corinth. c. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Stephan. in Τενεία.

Notwithstanding the military strength of the Corinthia, and the commanding position of Corinth, notwithstanding the facilities which the natural formation of the territory offered for the application of artificial strength in the most effectual manner, it does not appear that the Corinthians ever controlled the affairs of Greece, in any important crisis of its history. Generally divided like the other republics into two parties, they were probably seldom able, even with the assistance of their allies, to find defenders for the immense circuit of the citadel, city, Long Walls, and port of Lechæum, still less to occupy effectually the Isthmus, or the passes eastward of the Acro-Corinthus. Even in the Boeotian war, when Corinth was allied with Sparta and Athens, as well as with a considerable portion of the Peloponnesus, the Thebans, in their repeated invasions of the peninsula, found no difficulty in penetrating into the heart of it, after they had passed the Oneia. In the present age, when politics and war are conducted on a larger scale and more enlightened principles, when large bodies of men are more easily brought to follow a single impulse, than could occur among the small and jealous republics of Greece, when the greater power and range of missile weapons renders a

larger space of ground defensible by the same numbers, that triple barrier of the Peloponnesus, which is formed by the Oneia, by the Isthmus, and by the Corinthian line, would furnish the finest field for the exercise of military science.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### PHLIASIA.

### SICYONIA.

From Corinth to St. George.—CLEONÆ.—Ancient Roads from CLEONÆ.—NEMEA.—St. George.—PHLIUS.—The PHLIASIA.—Ancient Military Operations in this District.—ORNEÆ.—From St. George to Vasiliká.—SICYON.—Subordinate Places of the SICYONIA.—EPIEICIA, THYAMIA, GERÆ, TITANE.

APRIL 24. For the last three days we have had a south-west wind, and heavy showers, with only short intermissions. Before that time the wind was southerly, with light airs, the sky hazy, and the heat oppressive, without any rain. At 8½ this morning I quit Corinth; at 8.40 leave the road to Vasiliká on the right, and take that of Argos, which passes through the white clayey hills on the southern side of the plain of Corinth: here the road is very slippery, in consequence of the late rains, and our pace is slow, although we have good menzil horses. At 8.57 we cross, by a bridge, a small stream which joins that of *Cleonæ*. At 9.5 pass a quarry, and the marks of chariot wheels in the rocks, and a little farther some Hellenic foundations. Having entered the valley of the river of *Cleonæ*,

we cross the stream three times, generally proceeding along its right bank, between rugged hills, which connect the Acro-Corinthus on the left with the truncated peak called Fuka (probably the ancient Apesas) on the right. At 10.35, at the opening of this narrow valley into the plain of *Cleonæ*, Omer Tjáus, a small village, adorned with gardens and cypresses, stands on the opposite or right bank of the river. Several rivulets descend from the surrounding mountains, and unite in the plain. Of these mountains the most remarkable is a long ridge, called Aion Oros, of which the direction, like that of the plain itself, is from north-west to south-east. Leaving the river and plain on our left, we cross some uncultivated hills, the roots of Mount Fuka, and at 11.13 halt for a few minutes at the site of *Cleonæ*. The only remains are some Hellenic foundations around a small height, upon which are the supporting walls of several terraces. A hamlet of four or five houses on the slope towards the plain is still called Klenes<sup>a</sup>, not far from which is a larger village, named Kurtési. That of Ai Vasíli, from which the plain generally takes its name, stands in a lofty situation, on the face of Aion Oros, above the opposite side of the plain, at a distance of two miles direct to the s.e. of *Cleonæ*.

<sup>a</sup> Κλένας.



Strabo, having been in this instance an eye-witness, seems to have correctly described Cleonæ<sup>a</sup> as having been a small town<sup>b</sup> lying on the road from Argos to Corinth, on a hill surrounded on all sides by buildings, and well walled; so as to deserve the epithet applied to it by Homer<sup>c</sup>. He adds, “it is 120 stades distant from Argos, and eighty from Corinth. We ourselves saw the place from the Acro-Corinthus.” Pausanias<sup>d</sup> describes Cleonæ in like manner, as a small city<sup>e</sup>. The only monuments he remarked there, were a temple of Minerva, containing an ancient statue by Dipœnus and Scyllis, disciples of Dædalus, and a monument of Eurytus and Cteatus, sons of Actor, who were slain by Hercules, as they were proceeding from Elis to the Isthmic Games<sup>f</sup>. He takes no notice of the temple of Hercules, which, as we learn from Diodorus, was erected near Cleonæ in memory of that event.

“There are two roads”, continues Pausanias, “from Cleonæ to Argos: the shorter is suited

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 377.

<sup>b</sup> πόλισμα.

<sup>c</sup> εὐκτιμένηας.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 15.

<sup>e</sup> πόλις οὐ μεγάλη.

<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Eliac. prior. c. 2.—Diodor. l. 4. c. 33.—I have since been informed that

at a khan, five minutes beyond the ruins of *Cleonæ*, on the road to *Tretus*, there are some remains of a small Doric temple in antis, with fragments of a statue; it is probably the temple of Hercules, mentioned by Diodorus.

to pedestrian travellers; that which leads by Tretus, although narrower, and closely inclosed by mountains, is better adapted to carriages. In these mountains they still shew the cave of the Nemean lion, at a distance of fifteen stades from Nemea. The temple of Jupiter Nemeius is worth seeing, although its roof has fallen, and the statue no longer remains. Around the temple there is a grove of cypresses. The Argives sacrifice to Jupiter at Nemea, and elect the priest of the god. They have instituted also a contest of running, for armed men, at the winter festival of the Nemeia.”<sup>a</sup> The other monuments at Nemea were the sepulchres of Opheltes, and his son, Lycurgus. The former was a tomb<sup>b</sup>, standing within an inclosure<sup>c</sup>, which contained also certain altars; the latter was a heap of earth<sup>d</sup>. There was a source of water<sup>e</sup> at Nemea, called Adrasteia. Above Nemea was the mountain Apesas, where Perseus was said to have been the first person who sacrificed to Jupiter Apesantius.

In this, as in so many other passages of Pausanias, it is difficult to understand the direction of the roads, and the relative situation of the places, without actually visiting them. It appears that anciently three roads radiated from

<sup>a</sup> Νεμείων πανηγύρει τῶν χειμερινῶν.

<sup>b</sup> τάφος.

<sup>d</sup> χῶμα γῆς.

<sup>c</sup> θρίγκος.

<sup>e</sup> πηγὴ.

Cleonæ; 1. The foot road to Argos; this I take to have been the same which Polybius and Athenæus call the Contoporeia. 1st. Because the name, meaning staff-road, indicates a route for pedestrians only. 2dly. Because Polybius speaks of it as the most direct way from Corinth to Argos<sup>a</sup>, which agrees with the foot road of Pausanias. 3dly. Because Ptolemy Philadelphus, as quoted by Athenæus, remarks, that it crossed a mountain<sup>b</sup>, which accords with the modern route over the Aion Oros, through Ai Vasíli. 2. The second road from Cleonæ was that called Tretus, or “the Perforated”, from the caverns with which it abounds. I passed through it on a former occasion; it is a bed of a torrent between steep rocks which open into the Argolic plain near Mycenæ. Although circuitous, it is much more convenient than the *Contoporeia*, being level throughout, and avoiding all the mountains. 3. The third road from Cleonæ led to Nemea. This I now follow and cross a stony ridge which, in appearance, connects the mountain of Ai Vasíli with Mount Fuka, or *Apesas*, three miles on the right, though in

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. l. 16. c. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Ptolem. regis Comment. ap. Athen. l. 2. c. 6. The king says that, travelling to Corinth by the road called Contoporeia, he drank of a

source of water on the mountain (κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρώπιαν) so cold that none of those who accompanied him dared to drink of it.

reality the ridge is separated from the former mountain by the *Tretus*. At 11.35, on the rise of the ridge are several natural caverns on the right of the road. These may have been the abode of wild beasts when the Nemeian forest covered all *Tretus* and *Apesas*, but none of them has any pretensions, if we follow Diodorus<sup>a</sup> and Pausanias, to the honour of having been the favourite dwelling of the celebrated lion slain by Hercules, by command of Eurystheus King of Mycenæ. That cavern was in the *Tretus*, between Nemea and Mycenæ; Pausanias says, at only fifteen stades from the former place. In that narrow pass, indeed, like a kleft of the present day, he was more certain of intercepting a traveller than in these more open hills. It is curious to remark, that the most ancient writer who mentions this famous beast, was content to state the extent of country which he infested<sup>b</sup>; but that the later Greeks were not satisfied without identifying his dwelling. According to Apollodorus, his cave had two entrances, one of which Hercules obstructed before he attacked the lion<sup>c</sup>.

Opposite to the caverns above-mentioned, there is an artificial excavation in the rock on

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. l. 4. c. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Κοιρανίων Τητροῖο Νεμείης ἡδ' Ἀπίσαντος.

Hesiod. Theogon. v. 331.

<sup>c</sup> Apollod. l. 2. c. 5.

the road side, a foot and a half or two feet square; it was probably a conduit to convey water to *Cleonæ*. It is traceable at intervals for a considerable distance up the ascent.

At 12, we halt for a few minutes on the summit of the ridge, from whence the whole range of *Artemisium* appears before us. We then turn a little to the right of the former direction, and descend into the plain of *Nemea*; entering which, at 12.30, there is a *tjisme*, or Turkish fountain, now without water, and near it a natural source, probably the *Adrasteia*. At the foot of the mountain, to the left of this spot, before we arrive at the temple of Jupiter, I find some vestiges of the Nemeian stadium. The circular end is the only part of which the form is well preserved; this made me suppose it at first a theatre; but the parallel sides of the stadium, although almost levelled by the continued effects of the rain-water from the mountain, are still perfectly traceable, and there is even a part of the wall remaining which supported the rectilinear extremity towards the plain: I measured 650 feet from this wall to the circular end; it is the usual extreme length of the Greek stadium, and would leave about 600 Greek feet between the *aphesis* and *campter*, or two extremities of the course.

On my former visit to Nemea, we searched for the stadium nearly in the same situation without



recognizing it, though it is so evident that my janissary Salih knew it immediately to be the same kind of monument which he had assisted me to measure at Sicyon and the Isthmus, and to which he had given the name of Karávi (ship). Between the stadium and the temple of Jupiter, on the left of the path, are some Hellenic foundations, and two fragments of Doric columns, two feet three inches in diameter. Near the temple are the ruins of a small church, which contains some Doric fragments of dimensions too small to have belonged to the temple. The three columns which Chandler found here are still standing, amidst a vast heap of ruins. Two of these columns belonged to the pronaos, and were placed as usual between antæ; they are four feet seven inches in diameter at the base, and still support their architrave. The third column which belonged to the outer range is five feet three inches in diameter at the base, and about thirty-four feet high, including a capital of two feet. Its distance from the corresponding column of the pronaos is eighteen feet. The total height of the three members of the entablature was eight feet two inches. The general intercolumniation of the peristyle was seven feet; at the angles, five feet ten inches. From the front of the pronaos to the extremity of the cell within, the length was

ninety-five feet; the breadth of the cell within, thirty-one feet; the thickness of the walls, three feet. The temple was a hexastyle, of about sixty-five feet in breadth on the upper step of the stylobate which consisted of three steps: the number of columns on the sides, and consequently the length of the temple, I could not ascertain<sup>a</sup>. The slenderness of the columns is particularly remarkable, after viewing those of Corinth; it is curious that the shortest and longest specimens, in proportion to their diameter, of any existing Doric columns, should be found so near to one another. The columns of Nemea are more than six diameters high, or as slender as some examples of the Ionic; those of Corinth, as we have seen, very little above four. The entablature of Nemea was less than one-fourth of the height of the column, whereas at Corinth it was about a half. The extant architrave of the temple of Nemea being so low, and the capitals of the columns proportionally small and narrow compared to the height of the shaft, the impression on many spectators will be, that the whole building was inelegant and meagre, compared to the Doric buildings of Attica, Ægina, and Phigaleia: but it would be

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Wilkins, in the Introduction to the Antiquities of Magna Græcia, note p. xvii.

says that there were fourteen columns, and that the entire length was about 164 feet.

unjust to come to this conclusion upon the view of a mere fragment. In every thing relating to architecture the ancients were much more learned than the moderns, and external effect was of course one of their most important studies. They considered particularly the circumstances of position; and proportions which might have secured approbation in the midst of a city, and surrounded by smaller buildings, might not have been thought suitable to a solitary edifice in a narrow valley, surrounded by hills like the *βαθυπέδιος Νεμέα* <sup>a</sup>. These refinements of art we cannot well suppose to have been the accompaniment of a very early period, and they furnish an argument therefore against the remote antiquity of the temple of Nemea, though the Nemeian games, of which there were still some remains in the time of Pausanias, were extremely ancient; he tells us that they were established by Adrastus, and renewed by the Epigoni <sup>b</sup>: and Apollodorus has given us the

<sup>a</sup> Pindar. Nem. 3. v. 30. It is curious to observe, that the hexastyle which approaches nearest to the Nemeian in the slenderness of its columns is that of Sunium, although the situations of the two temples are as different as possible, the one placed in a narrow valley, the other on

a lofty promontory. But they do not resemble in the height of the entablature, which, at Sunium, is about one-third of the height of the column as in the Theseium and Parthenon: at Nemea the entablature is less than a fourth.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. Phocic. c. 25.

names of the victors, on the latter occasion, in all the eight kinds of contest<sup>a</sup>. They were celebrated in the presence of Philip, son of Demetrius<sup>b</sup>, in the years B.C. 217 and 208, and had not fallen into neglect in the beginning of the Roman empire<sup>c</sup>. There is no information in history which can lead to any well grounded opinion as to the time when the temple of Jupiter, which undoubtedly existed here from an early period, was rebuilt in the form of which the ruins still exist; but I am inclined to ascribe it to the same half century, between the end of the Persian war and the beginning of the Peloponnesian, which gave rise to so many of the buildings of Attica, and during which Pindar conferred an honour, more lasting than the temple, on several of the victorious *athletæ* of the Nemean Games. The rebuilding of the great temple of Juno, near Mycenæ, which was destroyed by fire in the ninth year of the Peloponnesian war<sup>d</sup>, probably exhausted the means of the Argives, applicable to such works, for many years after that event.

Nemea, like Olympia, the Isthmian Hierum, and several other similar establishments of smaller note in Greece, consisted only of an

<sup>a</sup> Apollod. l. 3. c. 6.

lopœemen.

<sup>b</sup> Polyb. l. 5. c. 101.—Liv. l. 27. c. 31.—Plutarch in Phi-

<sup>c</sup> Strabo, p. 377.

<sup>d</sup> Thucyd. l. 4. c. ult.

ἄλσος, or sacred grove, which contained the stadium, theatre, temple, and other monuments; there was a town <sup>a</sup> near it called Bembina <sup>b</sup>, the situation of which I cannot ascertain.

The pear-tree mentioned by Chandler still grows within the ruins of the cell of the temple. The plain lies in a direction nearly north and south, and is from a half to three quarters of a mile in breadth and two or three miles long. Theocritus gives to Nemea the epithet of “well watered” <sup>c</sup>. There are several rivulets from the surrounding mountains which collect, as at *Cleonæ*, in the plain, flow northward through the ridges of *Apesas*, leaving the summit of that mountain to the right, and upon emerging from the hills cross the olive-grounds of *Vokha* to the sea. The river bore the same name as the sacred grove. The valley is inclosed on the side opposite to Mount *Fúka*, or the southwest, by another hill of nearly equal height, on the other side of which stands the town of *St. George*.

<sup>a</sup> κώμη.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἡ Νεμέα μεταξὺ Κλεωνῶν καὶ Φλιοῦντος, καὶ τὸ ἄλσος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ Νέμεια συντελεῖν ἔθος τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Νεμεαῖον λέοντα μυθεύμενα καὶ ἡ Βέμβινα κώμη. Strabo, p. 377.

Hellanicus, Rhianus, Panyasis ap. Stephan. in Βεμβίνα. Theocritus (Id. 25. v. 202) represents the Nemeian lion as having been particularly destructive to the neighbouring Bembinæi.

<sup>c</sup> Ὅπως τ' εὐδρου Νεμέης εἰσῆλιθε χῶρον.

Theocr. Id. 25. v. 182.



At 2.15 we leave the temple and pursue a road, which turns off to the right of that leading to the *Tretus*: after having crossed the remaining part of the plain, the vineyards of Kut-zomádhi<sup>a</sup> are on the right; at 2.30 that village, which is half way up the mountain of St. George, is a mile and a half distant. Crossing a low rocky ridge we then descend into the southern end of the plain of St. George, below the monastery of “Panaghía on the precipice”<sup>b</sup>, which is on the left under the precipice of an insulated rocky hill rising from that end of the plain. This monastery was visited by Chandler in 1766, who found there “a most transparent water, a picture of the Virgin which works miracles, and a Greek sepulchral inscription in the wall.”

Having turned to the right we skirt the foot of the mountain of Ai Ghiorghi<sup>c</sup>, and arrive at that place at 2.53. It is a kefalokhóri of two makhalás, containing together 200 houses, which own half the land of the subjacent plain; Nuri Bey has the other half. He is said to possess 1000 zevgária in the country anciently belonging to Corinth, Sicyon, Phlius, Stymphalus, and Pheneus. The plain of St. George produces corn and vines, and is watered by

<sup>a</sup> Κουτζομάδι.<sup>b</sup> Παναγία στὸν βράχον.<sup>c</sup> Ἅγιος Γεώργιος.

many rivulets flowing from the surrounding mountains, which unite in the plain. The road from St. George to Argos ascends the most considerable of these torrents, entering its narrow valley just under the monastery of the Panaghía, which is to the left of the torrent. The direct road to Tripolitzá, after crossing the plain, passes along the foot of a rocky height, a prolongation of that of the Panaghía, and then passes by Liondí over the *Artemisium* to Tzipianá. But this, in many parts, is little better than a mountain path, and the usual communication is by Argos.

St. George is said to be more healthy and to enjoy a better climate and temperature than either Argos or Corinth. When the north or north-west winds are strong in the Corinthiac Gulf it is hot at Argos, and the diurnal sea breeze<sup>a</sup> often blows strongly in the Argolic Gulf when there is none at Corinth;—in both cases it is, according to the St. Georgians, cool with them. Every part of the Argolic plain is considered unhealthy in summer, and the heat is excessive; that of the ravine of the *Tretus*, in the mid-day hours, is said to be something beyond bearing, which I can easily conceive, having passed through it in August, at an hour

<sup>a</sup> Ἐμψασία, by the Levantine Franks called Imbát.

of the morning when the heat was comparatively moderate. Not long since, a Tartar, after having drunk plentifully of wine and rakí at Corinth, was found to be dead when the surijí held his stirrup to dismount at the khan of Kharvátí (*Mycenæ*), just beyond the exit of the *Tretus*. In fact, there seems no reason why a dead Tartar might not travel a whole stage as well as a sleeping one, which often happens.

The chief subject of conversation among the politicians of St. George, is an act of justice lately performed by the Pashá upon the Bolúk-Bashi who commanded the police guard of Tripolitzá, and who had been recently employed by the Pashá against the thieves. Instead of performing his duty he plundered the villages, cut off the heads of some of the peasants, presented them to the Vezír as the heads of robbers, and received a reward for them. The Pashá having discovered his crimes, issued an order for his head, and gave the commission to the Dehlí-Bashi who commands the Pashá's body-guard. The Bolúk-Bashi being a true Albanian, brave and artful, the Dehlí thought it safest to employ treachery, which indeed is the ordinary mode of operating in such cases among the Turks. He invited the Albanian to dinner, and while the latter was smoking his

pipe and the servants were preparing the table, he drew out, in order that every thing should be done in form, first, the buyurdí, or written order, secondly, a pistol to shoot his guest, and thirdly, a hanjár to cut off his head, with which he proceeded forthwith to the Serai and laid it at the Pashá's feet. It is admitted that the affair was well and technically done<sup>a</sup>.

April 25.—As it is evident that the valley, which extends for four or five miles to the southward and westward of St. George, is the ancient *Phlaysia*, I endeavoured to discover from some of the natives who visited me yesterday evening, the site of *Phlius* itself, and soon learnt that at Polýfengo, only half an hour to the northward, there are many remains of ancient buildings. The learned indeed, and among them the διδάσκαλος himself denied that there were any Hellenic vestiges<sup>b</sup> among those remains, but having often witnessed the ignorance of the Greeks as to places situated close to their own doors, I proceed this morning to Polýfengo.

Quitting St. George at 6½, and skirting the foot of the hill on which the village stands, I cross, at 6.53, a small brook which joins the *Asopus* in the plain. It borders the site of

<sup>a</sup> τεχνικά.

<sup>b</sup> Ἑλληνικά σημεῖα.

*Phlius* to the south-east. At 7 I arrive on the summit of the Acropolis, which occupied a projecting height, the last root of the mountain of St. George : the walls of the citadel are traceable in many places, but particularly across the neck of the hill in its highest part ; on the summit there are several remains of foundations, but none that can positively be ascribed to the Temple of Hebe. The town appears to have covered the southern side of this hill, and below it to have occupied all the angle bounded by the river Asopus, and the brook already mentioned. The wall is traceable on the south-eastern descent from the Acropolis to the brook, and for a short distance along its bank. On the south-west it seems not to have inclosed so much of the plain ; for after its descent from the hill it is traced for a short distance only along the foot and then crosses to the Asopus.

Pausanias says<sup>a</sup>, that “ the temple dedicated to Hebe, more anciently called Ganymeda, who was daughter of Juno, sister of Mars, and wine-pourer<sup>b</sup> to the gods, stood in a cypress grove in the Acropolis of Phlius ; it was of great antiquity and enjoyed a right of asylum ; the chains of liberated prisoners were hung upon the trees of the grove ; there was no statue. To the

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 13.

<sup>b</sup> οἰνοχόος.



left of the temple of Hebe, on going out of it, was a temple of Juno with a statue of Parian marble. There was also in the Acropolis a sacred inclosure of Ceres containing a temple and statues of Ceres and Proserpine, and an ancient brazen image of Diana. On the right, in descending from the citadel, stood the temple of Æsculapius, having a beardless statue of the god; and below it the theatre, near which there was a temple of Ceres, containing ancient seated statues of the goddess and her daughter. In the Agora there was a brazen goat for the most part gilded; it had been erected as a propitiation of the star called the Goat, the rising of which was supposed to injure the vines. The Agora contained also the monument of Aristias, son of Pratinas, which two persons excelled all, except Æschylus, in writing satyrs. Behind the Agora was a house named the Prophetic<sup>a</sup>, because Amphiaraus was said to have there first prophesied. Not far from it was the Omphalus, so called [according to the Phliasii] as being the middle of Peloponnesus<sup>b</sup>. On proceeding from thence there occurred an ancient temple of Bacchus and temples of Apollo and of Isis; in the two former the statue was exposed

<sup>a</sup> Μαντικὸς.

as appears by the words which

<sup>b</sup> Pausanias knew better, he adds, εἰ δὴ τὰ ὄντα εἰρήκασιν.

to the public view <sup>a</sup>, in that of Isis it was seen by the priests only. Near the temple of Apollo stood a building <sup>b</sup> sacred to the memory of Cyathus, wine-pourer <sup>c</sup> of Æneus, who was slain by a blow of the finger of Hercules; it contained a statue of Cyathus offering a cup to Hercules.”

The name Polýfengo <sup>d</sup> is now attached to a tjiftlík surrounded with large poplars, in the plain below the hill of the Acropolis, and within the inclosure of the ancient town. Around this spot there are many remains of antiquity, particularly some foundations of very finished and regular masonry at the foot of a rock which here terminates the hill. There is another foundation below it 200 feet long, and about two thirds as much in breadth. Ancient squared blocks appear in many parts of this ruin, but they are mixed or covered with heaps of rubble and small stones, which seem to verify the supposition of the people of Ai Ghiorghi, that here stood the Episcopal church of Polýfengo, formerly one of the bishoprics of the province of Corinth, but which, like all the other suffragans of that metropolis, no longer exists. There are some other similar foundations of smaller buildings near it. The church, like many others in

<sup>a</sup> δῆλον πᾶσι.

<sup>b</sup> οἶκημα.

<sup>c</sup> οἶνοχόος.

<sup>d</sup> Πολύφεγγος.

Greece, was probably an ancient temple, which had been converted into a church on the establishment of Christianity, and had been repaired with masonry of later times. It would be difficult to conjecture upon which of the temples of the lower town of Phlius the church was built, unless some remains of the theatre could be discovered.

A little below the place where I crossed the brook in approaching the hill of the Acropolis, there are some foundations which seem to have belonged to a bridge. In the plain immediately below St. George there is a shapeless mass of brick ruin.

The principal sources of the *Asopus* are at the foot of Mount Gavriá, where I perceive a grove of poplars and other trees. Gavriá is a picturesque, rugged, woody mountain of a considerable height, interposed between the *Phliasian* valley and the much higher summits of Ghymnovúni and Zýria, which appear above Gavriá. There are some other sources of the river a little farther south, at Bótzika, a small village under the same mountain.

Strabo <sup>a</sup>, in reference to the line in the Catalogue of Homer,

Ὀρνειάς τ' ἐνέμοντο Ἀραιθυρέην τ' ἑρατεινὴν,

remarks, that Aræthyrea was the Phliasia of his

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 382.

day : that anciently there was a town of the same name situated at Mount Celosse ; but that, in process of time, the inhabitants, removing from thence to a distance of thirty stades, built a new city, which they called Phlius. He adds, that the source of the Asopus was at a part of Mount Celosse called Carneates, that the river flowed through Sicyonia, and gave the name of Asopia to a part of that district ; that Phlius was surrounded by Sicyonia, Argeia, and the districts of Cleonæ and Stymphalus ; and that both in Phlius and in Sicyon there was a temple of Dia, which was the name there given to Hebe<sup>a</sup>. Apollonius Rhodius describes the town of Aræthyrea as being at the sources of the Asopus<sup>b</sup>, thus agreeing exactly with Strabo.

According to the traditions of the Phliasii, as reported to Pausanias<sup>c</sup>, both the district and chief town had a third and more ancient name, Arantia, derived from Aras, a native who founded a city on a hill near the citadel of Phlius, called Arantinus, where Pausanias saw the monuments of Aoris and Aræthyrea, the children of Aras. Asopus was said to be the son of Neptune and Ceglusa (the same name,

<sup>a</sup> Pausanias says nothing of this denomination of Hebe, nor of her temple at Sicyon.

<sup>b</sup> Apollon. Rhod. l. 1. v. 115.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 12.

I apprehend, as the Celosse of Strabo). Phlius was supposed to have been an Argive, and one of the Argonauts, whose name, as it would appear from Homer, was not given to the places until after the return of the Heracleidæ, when the city was removed from the position at the foot of Mount Celosse, nearly to its original site of Arantia.

The distance of thirty stades from Phlius to the site of Aræthyrea agrees very well with that of Polýfengo from the northernmost sources of the river under Mount Gavriá. These springs, therefore, seem to mark the site of Aræthyrea. Gavriá<sup>a</sup> is a Hellenic name<sup>b</sup>; possibly a small place called Gaurium may have succeeded to the fine position of Aræthyrea after the removal of the capital of Phliasia, and may have given the name of Gaurias to the mountain. Bótzika, in like manner, may perhaps occupy the site of an ancient place called Carnea, situated at the more distant sources of the river, and from which, in the time of Strabo, the adjacent part of the mountain may have been called Carneates.

Celeæ was five stades distant from Phlius. Here the Phliasii celebrated, every fourth year,

<sup>a</sup> Γαυριάς.

drus. Xenoph. Hellen. l. 1.

<sup>b</sup> There was a place called

c. 4.

Γαύριον in the island of An-



the mysteries of Ceres. There was a building called the Anactorium, and sepulchres of Aras and Dysaules ; the latter was brother of Celeus of Eleusis, and introduced the mysteries into Phliasia <sup>a</sup>. Foundations of a Hellenic building, indicative of the site, are still to be seen on the left bank of the Asopus, at about half a mile from Polýfengo.

The mountain which rises immediately eastward from the town of St. George is the ancient Tricaranum, as appears from Xenophon, in his narrative <sup>b</sup> of the proceedings of the Phliasii, when mindful of the alliance which they had formed with Sparta in her prosperity, they still firmly adhered to her cause after the disaster at Leuctra, notwithstanding the distress to which they were themselves reduced in consequence of that adherence by the hostile incursions of their neighbours of Argos and Sicyon, the former of whom occupied and fortified Tricaranum near Phlius, the latter Thyamia, on the Sicyonian frontier. Four years after the battle of Leuctra, (B.C. 367,) when the Lacedæmonians and their confederates were posted in the passes of the Oneia, from whence they were soon afterwards driven by Epaminondas, a body of Argives, Arcadians, and others passing through Nemea on

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 7. c. 2.

their way to the Isthmus to assist the operation of the Thebans, were met by some exiles from Phlius, who assuring them that they might take Phlius by merely appearing before it, persuaded them to make the attempt. The same night the exiles, provided with ladders and accompanied by 600 of the allies, concealed themselves under the walls of Phlius. In the morning, when the city was thrown into confusion by a signal that the enemy was approaching from Tricaranum, the exiles took that opportunity to scale the walls of the citadel, but they were repulsed in attempting to make their way from the Acropolis into the city, and were at length obliged to take refuge in the towers of the citadel. Meantime the Arcadians and Argives were still less successful, having either failed in making a breach or having been overthrown in their efforts to scale the wall. The Phliasii then, by setting fire to some of the towers which were occupied by the exiles and partly by the sword, succeeded in forcing the latter to save themselves by leaping from the ramparts. As soon as the citadel was cleared, the Phliasian horsemen made a sally and forced the allies to a precipitate retreat with the loss of eighty men.

In the following year the Theban commander at Sicyon, with his own garrison united to the Sicyonii, Pellenenses, and 2000 mercenaries

under Euphron, tyrant of Sicyon, marched from thence against Phlius, and descended through the Tricarantum to the Heræum<sup>a</sup>, which stood at the foot of that mountain<sup>b</sup>, in order to lay waste the plain of Phlius. The Sicyonii and Pellenenses were left in the rear, in that part of the heights which was near the Corinthian gate of the city, in order to prevent the Phliasii from marching along the heights and thus obtaining possession of the high ground above the Heræum. As soon as the Phliasii perceived the enemy's intention of descending into the plain, they sent forward their horsemen with a chosen body of infantry to prevent them. An interchange of missiles ensued which lasted the greater part of the day. The mercenaries of Euphron forced the Phliasii to retreat as far as the ground which was favourable to the cavalry, and were then driven in return by the Phliasii as far as the Heræum. The confederates finding, at length, that they gained nothing, and that they could not join the Pellenenses and Sicyonii, who were near the Corinthian gate, by a direct movement, on account of a ravine in front of the city walls<sup>c</sup>, took a

<sup>a</sup> διὰ τοῦ Τρικαρανίου κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον.

<sup>b</sup> τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου Τρικάρανον.

<sup>c</sup> πρὸ τοῦ τείχους φέραγγξ—the ravine of the brook which I crossed at 6.53.—See p. 339.

circuitous route towards them through Tricararum, which gave the Phliasii the opportunity of making a separate attack upon their opponents near the gate. These at first steadily resisted the attack, but as soon as the Phliasii brought up their infantry, they were defeated with the loss of many of the best men of Pellene, together with some Sicyonii. The Phliasii erected a trophy and sang the pæan, and the enemy, after having staid to witness the ceremony, returned to Sicyon.

It seems evident, from these transactions, that Tricararum was the name of the mountain of St. George, and that the fortified post of the Argives was on the summit of the mountain<sup>a</sup>. The Heræum alluded to by Xenophon, in relating the later transaction, appears to have stood upon one of the lower eminences of the mountain, perhaps in the position of the northern makhalá of St. George. It is hardly necessary to add, that this Heræum is not to be confounded with the temple of Juno in the Acropolis of Phlius, described by Pausanias, and

<sup>a</sup> It appears from Stephanus, that Theopompus, who wrote a history of the same wars, described Tricarana as a fortress of the Phlasiæ.—

Τρικάρανα, φρούριον τῆς Φλιασίας. Θεόπομπος πεντηκόστῳ πέμπτῳ. Steph. Byz. in Τρικάρανα.

which is alluded to also by Xenophon, in his narrative of the former attempt made upon Phlius by the exiles, where he says that one of the guards of the towers, as he fled towards the Heræum, was slain by those who scaled the towers<sup>a</sup>.

I have already had occasion to speak of a place in the Phliasia called Dioscurium, at which Philip encamped the night before his defeat of Euripidas at Apelaureum<sup>b</sup>. As Phlius lay to the right of the road which led from the Isthmus to Stymphalus through Dioscurium, this place would seem to have been not far from the modern St. George, in the plain below it.

Orneæ seems to have been situated very near the southern side of the plain of Ai Ghiórghi. Strabo says that it stood *above* the Sicyonian plain, upon a river of the same name<sup>c</sup>, which river he seems, in another passage, to represent as joining the sea between Corinth and Sicyon<sup>d</sup>. As there are only three streams collected in the interior valleys above the Sicyonia, which join the sea between Corinth and Sicyon, namely, those of Cleonæ, Nemea, and Phlius, or the Asopus, we cannot but infer, if the description of Strabo is correct, that the Asopus was some-

<sup>a</sup> καταφύγοντα πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον.

<sup>b</sup> See Chapter XXV.

<sup>c</sup> Strabo, p. 382.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 376.



times called Orneæ; or rather that specifically the river Orneæ was the south-eastern branch, and that the city Orneæ stood upon that branch. Such a situation will perfectly correspond with the data of Pausanias <sup>a</sup>, namely, that Orneæ was situated 120 stades from Argos, on the confines of Phlipsis; for, as Phlius is not more than thirteen geographic miles in direct distance from Argos, Orneæ could not have been more than three or four geographic miles direct from Phlius: and that it lay nearly in a line from Argos to Phlius seems evident, as well from these distances, as from the situation of Alea, and the Stymphalia to the westward of the line, and that of Tretus, Nemea, and Cleonæ to the eastward; thus confining the Orneatis to the line I have mentioned, in which, at the distance of five or six miles from Phlius, it is probable that some remains of Orneæ will be found. Strabo tells us, that there was a temple of Priapus at Orneæ, and that he was thence often known by the name of the god of Orneæ <sup>b</sup>.

After having viewed the little that is interesting at Polýfengo, I proceed on my way to *Sicyon*.

The following are the remarks of Pausanias, upon the places which lay between Sicyon and

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Ὁ ξυειάτης θεός.

Phlius<sup>a</sup>. “On the direct road”, he says, “from Sicyon to Phlius<sup>b</sup>, there is a turning to the left, which leads, at the end of ten stades, to Pyræa, a grove<sup>c</sup>, containing a sanctuary of Ceres Prostasia and Proserpine; here men celebrate a festival separately from women, who have a building called the Nymphon for that purpose: in the latter are statues of Bacchus, Ceres, and Proserpine, of which the faces only are apparent. The road from Sicyon to Titane, which is sixty stades in length, is impracticable to carriages, on account of its narrowness<sup>d</sup>. At the end of about twenty stades there is a turning to the left, which leads, after passing the Asopus, to a grove of holly-oaks<sup>e</sup>, containing a temple of the goddesses who are called Semnæ by the Athenians, and Eumenides by the Sicyonii; there is also an altar of the Fates in the open air<sup>f</sup>. After having re-crossed the Asopus, and returned into the road, you proceed to the summit of a mountain. Here it was, that Titan, brother of the Sun, is said to have inhabited<sup>g</sup>, and to have given to the place the name Titane.”

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 11, 12.

<sup>b</sup> τὴν κατ' εὐθὺ ἐς Φλιοῦντα ἐρχομένοις.

<sup>c</sup> ἄλσος.

<sup>d</sup> ζεύγασιν ἄβαστος διὰ τὴν στενότητα.

<sup>e</sup> σταδίου δὲ προελθοῦσιν, ἑμοὶ δοκεῖν, εἴκοσι καὶ ἐν ἀριστερῇ

διαβᾶσι τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐστὶν ἄλσος πρίνων, &c.

<sup>f</sup> ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἄλσους.

<sup>g</sup> Ἀναστρέψασι δὲ ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν, διαβᾶσί τε αὖθις τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ ἐς κορυφὴν ὄρους ἥξασιν, ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Τιτᾶνα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον, &c.

Phliasia borders upon Sicyonia; the city Phlius is about forty stades distant from Titane, but there is also a direct road from Phlius to Sicyon."

It appears, therefore, that the circuitous road from Sicyon to Phlius, by the way of Titane, which was 100 stades in length, lay to the right of the direct road; that the former was to the left of the Asopus, and the latter to its right; and that, between the two, before the road to Titane began to ascend the mountain, there was a temple of the Eumenides, situated on the right bank of the river, and distant between two and three miles from Sicyon.

At ten minutes beyond Polýfengo, I leave, on the opposite or left bank of the *Asopus*, the ancient foundations and blocks of stone already alluded to, which mark the site of *Celeæ*. There seems to have been only a single building. Half a mile farther, the valley of the *Asopus* becomes narrow, and is covered with fields of *kalambókki*. The road passes occasionally along the roots of the steep mountains which border it on either side, and which are thickly covered with bushes; at intervals there are some small meadows, prettily situated amidst oaks mixed with shrubs and a few patches of ploughed land. As we proceed, the road becomes narrower, and at length in many places no path appears, the

river having undermined the bank, and carried away the road.

The high mountain on the left is cultivated in many parts, and on its slope are seen the villages of Liópesi and Paradhísi, the latter northward of the former. On the summit of the hill above Liópesi, there are said to be some ancient foundations, which seem to indicate the position of the temple of Æsculapius at Titane. I cannot learn that any remains of columns are to be seen there; but those of a small Hellenic castle are described to me, southward of Liópesi, the distance of which from Polýfengo will, I think, answer better than that of the summit of the mountain, to the forty stades which Pausanias states to have been the distance between Titane and Phlius. The castle may perhaps have been a dependent fortress of the Sicyonia, of the same name as the Hierum, which, it seems from Pausanias, stood on the summit of the hill.

As we advance, the road becomes still worse, and we should probably have spent the whole day in getting out of the valley, had it not been for a peasant, whom we fortunately meet, who conducts us into the route which leads from Vasiliká to Mazi and Liópesi. We fall into this track near the place where it ascends the mountain, which rises from the left bank of the Asopus, and consequently near the spot where

the ancient route to Titane quitted the valley. We follow this road along the left bank of the river, until the valley begins to widen, nearly at the distance from Sicyon at which Pausanias places the grove of the Eumenides, on the right bank of the river. Perhaps some remains of the temple might be found by a careful examination. As the valley becomes wider, the cultivation increases. This seems to have been the best part of that subdivision of the Sicyonia which was called Asopia<sup>a</sup>. Having crossed the *Asopus* we follow the valley to its right, until we enter the maritime plain on the eastern side of the hill of *Sicyon*, and there probably fall into the direct route from Sicyon to Phlius, which seems not to have followed the right bank of the *Asopus* so closely as the road to Titane followed the left, since Pausanias describes the temple of the Eumenides as lying to the left of the latter, instead of to the right of the former, although this was the principal route. To the right of the place where we enter the plain of Sicyon from the valley, at about a mile's distance, was the position which Pausanias describes as that of the sanctuary of Ceres Prostasia, and the Nymphon, but I cannot hear of any remains in that direction.

The river *Asopus* has totally altered its ap-

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 382.



pearance in its passage through the mountains, and, instead of the clear tranquil stream of the plain of St. George, has become rapid, white, and turbid. The numerous torrents which descend into it from the mountains, in its passage through them, have caused this change of colour; the white argillaceous soil of the maritime *Achaia* extending also through the *Sicyonia* and *Corinthia*. The river joins the sea a little eastward of a round height in the plain, which has much the appearance of being artificial. We ascend the hill of Vasiliká at a spot where are some remains of the Hellenic wall which once entirely surrounded it. Immediately within the wall are several churches, built of ancient blocks, mixed with fragments of columns, and other similar remains. These churches seem to indicate that *Sicyon* continued to exist long after the establishment of Christianity, which is not at all improbable, as new Sicyon, according to the division of the Byzantine empire by Constantine, was one of the cities of the proconsular province of Hellas or Achaia<sup>a</sup>. We left Polýfengo at 8.5, and arrived at Vasiliká at 12.45; though our road was in a valley, and not very winding, the rate was below the average, on account of the impediments. Vasiliká is now

<sup>a</sup> Hi erocl. Synecd. p. 646. Wessel.

inhabited by Albanians, and has been much increased by a settlement of that nation since Wheler's time, when there were only six families: there are now at least fifty inhabited houses. The lands which they cultivate belong to Nuri Bey. Like all the Christian peasantry of Albanian race, they are an industrious, quiet, hospitable people, but extremely ignorant.

The sketch of Sicyon at the end of this volume will convey some idea of the site and remaining monuments of the city, and will help to illustrate the description of it by Pausanias. He conducts his reader to Sicyon from Corinth. Not far from the walls of Corinth, on the left of the road, he noticed the ruins of a temple said to have been dedicated to Apollo, and to have been burnt by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles<sup>a</sup>. The river Nemea was the boundary of the two districts<sup>b</sup>. In entering the Sicyonia the first remarkable object was a barrow<sup>c</sup>; it was the monument of Lycus the Messenian<sup>d</sup>. This, however, was not the mode in which the Sicyonii usually constructed their sepulchres, but the following: having buried the body in the earth, they built a substruction, and upon this raised columns, which supported a covering resembling the roof of a temple. They placed no other inscription

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Vide Pausan. l. 2. c. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo, p. 382.

*et seq.*

<sup>c</sup> χῶμα γῆς.

than the name of the deceased, without that of his father, and they bad him farewell <sup>a</sup>.

After having passed the Asopus the Olympium was on the right; a little farther, on the left of the road, was the tomb of Eupolis of Athens, the writer of comedies. Beyond it, on turning towards the city, occurred the monument of Xenodice, who died in child-birth: this was not formed according to the local fashion, but so as to receive a picture, of which Pausanias speaks in strong terms of commendation. Farther on was the tomb of the Sicyonii who fell at Pellene, Dyme, Megalopolis, and Sellasia. At the gate of the city there was a fountain in a cavern; it was called Stazusa, because it flowed from the roof of the cavern.

<sup>a</sup> λίθου δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κρηπῖδα κίονας ἐφιστάσσι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς αἰετοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς· ἐπίγραμμα δ' ἄλλο μὲν γράφουσιν οὐδὲν, τὸ δ' ὄνομα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ

οὐ πατρόθεν ὑπειπόντες, κελεύουσι τὸν νεκρὸν χαίρειν.

The Sicyonian sepulchres seem to have been formed thus:—



In the Acropolis<sup>a</sup> were temples of Fortune Acræa, and of the Dioscuri; all the three statues were of wood. The theatre was below the Acropolis; in the scene stood the statue of a man with a shield, said to have been that of Aratus, son of Cleinias. Near the theatre was the temple of Bacchus, containing an image of the god in ivory and gold, and statues of the Bacchæ in white marble. In a place called the Cosmeterium were kept two statues of Bacchus, with the epithets Baccheius and Lysius. In the way from the Dionysium to the Agora the temple of Diana Limnæa was on the right. It had neither roof nor statue. At the entrance of the Agora was the temple of Peitho, also without a statue. The temple of Apollo in the Agora<sup>b</sup> was originally founded by Proetus; that which existed in the time of Pausanias had been erected, as well as the statue, by Pythocles, in the place of a temple which had been destroyed by fire<sup>c</sup>.

An inclosure near the temple of Peitho, which in the time of Pausanias was consecrated

<sup>a</sup> Ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀκροπόλει.

place of worship in Sicyon.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀγορᾷ.

Pindar alludes to Apollo, to the

<sup>c</sup> The temple of Apollo appears to have been the chief

hill of Sicyon, and to the river Asopus, in the following lines:

Ἄλλ' ἀνὰ μὲν βρομίαν  
Φορμιγγί, ἀνὰ δ' αὐλὸν ἐπ' αὐτὰν ὄρσομεν  
Ἰππείων ἄθλων κορυφάν, ἅτε Φοῖβῳ  
Θῆκεν Ἀδραστος ἐπ' Ἀ-  
σωποῦ ρέεθροις.

to the Roman emperors, had been formerly the house of the tyrant Cleon. Before this house stood the Arateium, or heroic monument of Aratus, and near the latter an altar of Neptune Isthmius, and statues of Jupiter Meilichius and of Diana Patroa, the former resembling a pyramid, the latter a column. Here also were the council-house, and a stoa called Cleistheneius, from Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, who built it from the spoils of Cirrha, when he reduced that place in conjunction with the Amphictyones and Solon the Athenian<sup>a</sup>. The Agora contained also, in the open air, a brazen Jupiter, the work of Lysippus, by which stood a gilded Diana. Near them were the ruins of the temple of Apollo Lyceius, so called because the god was said to have furnished the Sicyonii with a certain bark of a tree with which they poisoned the wolves. The wood was kept in the sanctuary of Apollo Lyceius, but not even the sacred interpreters<sup>b</sup> of Sicyon could inform Pausanias of what kind it was.

Near the Lyceium were statues said to have been those of the daughters of Prætus, although inscribed with the names of other women; also a Hercules by Lysippus of Sicyon, and a Mercury Agoræus. All these were in brass<sup>c</sup>. In the

<sup>a</sup> V. et Pausan. Phocic. c. 37.—Polyæn. Strateg. l. 3. c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> ἐξηγηταί.

<sup>c</sup> In the time of Polybius there was a statue fifteen feet



gymnasium, which was near the Agora, stood a Hercules in stone, by Scopas. The temple of Hercules was in a different situation, in the middle of an inclosure <sup>a</sup> called Pædize; the temple contained an ancient statue in wood, the work of Laphaes of Phlius. From hence a street led to the Asclepieium, or sanctuary of Æsculapius. Within the inclosure, on the left, stood a building with two apartments <sup>b</sup>: in the outer there was an image of Sleep <sup>c</sup>, of which the head only remained; the inner apartment was sacred to Apollo Carneius, whose priests only had the privilege of entering it. In the portico <sup>d</sup> of this building were statues of Dream <sup>e</sup> and of Sleep; the latter surnamed Epidotes, was represented as causing a lion to sleep: in the same stoa lay a large whalebone. On the other side of the entrance into the Asclepieium (i. e. to the right) there was a Pan seated and an upright statue of Diana: the statue of the god within the temple was chryselephantine, and the work of Calamis. It was beardless, held a sceptre <sup>f</sup> in one hand,

high of King Attalus the First near the temple of Apollo in the Agora. Polyb. l. 17. c. 16. The Pœcile was probably in the same part of the town. Athen. l. 6. c. 14. It would seem from the silence of Pausanias, that neither the colossus of Attalus nor the Pœcile had remained till his time, nor any of the numerous pic-

tures of this celebrated school of painting, which had formed the subject of a work of Polemo, between the times of Polybius and Strabo. Athen. l. 13. c. 2.

<sup>a</sup> περίβολος.

<sup>b</sup> διπλοῦν οἶκημα.

<sup>c</sup> Ὕπνος.

<sup>e</sup> Οἰείδης.

<sup>d</sup> ἐν τῇ στοᾷ.

<sup>f</sup> σκῆπτρον.

and in the other the fruit of the cultivated pine-tree <sup>a</sup>. There were some small statues suspended from the roof, one of these, [standing] upon a serpent, was said to represent Aristodama, mother of Aratus <sup>b</sup>. There was a passage through the Asclepieium into the sanctuary of Venus <sup>c</sup>, in which the first object was a statue of Antiope. The only persons allowed to enter the temple were the female keeper <sup>d</sup>, who was forbidden to have converse with men, and the Lutrophorus, a virgin priestess holding an annual office. Other persons might behold the goddess from the door, and from thence address their prayers to her. The statue of Venus was seated and was made by Canachus of Sicyon, the same artist who wrought the Apollo of the Milesii at Didyma, and the Apollo Ismenius at Thebes. It was made of gold and ivory, bore a globe <sup>e</sup> on the head, in one hand a poppy and in the other an apple. The thighs of victims were offered to the goddess <sup>f</sup>, but not those of hogs.

In ascending from the Aphrodisium to the

<sup>a</sup> πίτυρος τῆς ἡμέρου.

<sup>b</sup> This figure had reference to a report, that Aratus was the son of Æsculapius.

<sup>c</sup> Δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ ἄλλο ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν.

<sup>d</sup> ἡ γυνὴ νεώκορος.

<sup>e</sup> πόλος.

<sup>f</sup> In some of the hieroglyphical sculptures of the temple of Tentyris in Upper

Egypt, which we know, from a Greek inscription on the cornice of the Pronaos, to have been dedicated to the Egyptian deity corresponding to the Venus of the Greeks, the goddess receives offerings of the *thighs* of victims together with fruit and flowers.

gymnasium, the temple of Diana Pheræa was situated on the right ; the statue was of wood, and was said to have been brought from Pheræ. This gymnasium, which, in the time of Pausanias, was still used for the exercise of youth, had been built by Cleinias. It contained a Diana of white marble, wrought only as far as the loins, and a Hercules resembling a quadrangular Hermes.

In turning from thence towards the gate called the Sacred, there was a temple of Minerva not far from the gate, and an altar of the same goddess, formerly belonging to a temple founded by Epopeus, which had excelled all those of its time in magnitude and ornament, but had been burnt by lightning. Before the altar of Epopeus was the tumulus of the same ancient king of Sicyon<sup>a</sup>, together with statues of the gods called Apotropæi, (Averters of Evil). Of two adjacent temples, that sacred to Diana and Apollo was said to have been built by Epopeus, the temple of Juno by Adrastus, who erected behind the temple an altar to Pan, and another, of white marble, to the Sun. In neither of these temples was there any statue remaining. Near the Heræum, founded by Adrastus, stood the columns of a temple of

<sup>a</sup> μνημα Ἐποπέϊ κέχωσται.

Apollo Carneius, of which the walls and roof were wanting: in the same state also was the temple of Juno Prodomia, founded by Phalces, son of Temenus.

In descending from the Heræum, in the direction of the plain, occurred a temple of Ceres, said to have been founded by Plemnæus, in gratitude to the goddess for having brought up his son Orthopolis.

The position which marked Sicyon for a city of importance in the earliest ages of Grecian history, although very unlike that of Corinth, is scarcely less singular. It is a table-height of no great elevation, of a shape irregularly triangular, upwards of three miles in circumference, and two miles distant from the sea. The *tabular* summit is defended on every side by a natural wall of precipices, admitting only of one or two narrow passages of ascent into it from the lower plain. A river flows at the foot of the height on either side. That on the eastern side was the *Asopus*, the name of the western stream, which is much smaller, is not so certain, but was probably *Helisson*. The modern village, called Vasiliká <sup>a</sup>, stands near the northern edge of the hill, above a natural ascent through the cliffs. It appears from several authorities, that

<sup>a</sup> Βασιλικά.

when *Sicyon* was in the meridian of its power, the tabular height of *Vasiliká* was the Acropolis, that the walls extended to the sea, and that they included a maritime quarter at the harbour. It must then have been at least eight miles in circumference, a surprising extent, when it is considered that there was a still larger city at the distance only of a few miles, and that the *Sicyonia*, with the exception of the maritime plain, is by no means fertile, all the remaining part towards the borders of *Phlius* and *Pellene* consisting of mountains or of uneven rocky ground, which admits only of a partial cultivation. But the hill of *Sicyon*, by its strength, its level summit, its abundant water, and its distance from the sea, at once safe and convenient, was among the choicest positions which Greece affords for the capital of one of the small commercial states, into which the hand of nature has divided this country.

Like the other secondary cities of Greece, *Sicyon* declined after *Athens* and *Sparta* had risen to the height of their power. At the end of the fourth century before the Christian æra, it seems to have already declined from its ancient magnitude and population; so that the maritime city was disjoined from the citadel. Diodorus <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. l. 20. c. 102,



relates, that in the expedition of Demetrius, son of Antigonus, against several places held by the forces of Cassander and Ptolemy, in the northern part of the Peloponnesus, in the year B. C. 303, Demetrius surprised Sicyon in the night, and having entered the walls, occupied the space which lay between the habitations of the lower town and the citadel. Before the Poliorcetes had prepared his engines for the siege of the Acropolis, Philip, the officer of Ptolemy, capitulated on condition that the garrison should be transported into Egypt: after which Demetrius destroyed the city adjacent to the harbour, built new dwellings for the Sicyonii in the Acropolis, instituted sacrifices and festivals, and received divine honours from the people as the founder of the new city Demetrias<sup>a</sup>. “Time”, adds Diodorus, “has abolished these innovations, but the Sicyonii still continue to occupy the site of the ancient Acropolis; a situation very preferable to that of the former city, the inclosed space being an extensive plain, surrounded on every side by precipices, so difficult of access that it would not be possible to attack the walls with machines. Having an abundance of water, they cultivate fertile gardens, and thus the sagacity of the king at once provided them with pleasure in peace, and protection in war.”

<sup>a</sup> See also Plutarch in Demetr.—Pausan. l. 2. c. 7.

Strabo, who wrote about the same time as Diodorus, describes Sicyon as “occupying a strong hill distant twenty stades<sup>a</sup> from the shore, whither Demetrius had removed the inhabitants from the position of the ancient city, which thenceforth served for the maritime quarter and port.”<sup>b</sup> Pausanias, in like manner, represents the lower situation to have been that of the city before the time of Demetrius, and the hill to have been the Acropolis; but it is difficult to coincide with him in the belief that the maritime position was that of the earliest settlement of Sicyon. The strength of the hill of Vasiliká, and its secure distance from the sea, are attributes similar to those of the other chief cities of Greece, and such as generally determined the choice of the original founders. Here, therefore, it is natural to believe that the first establishment was made. In a more advanced state of society, when the suppression

<sup>a</sup> οἱ δὲ δώδεκά φησιν, adds Strabo, meaning apparently that he thought the latter measurement too small, and that his own opinion inclined to the former, for, in this instance, we know that Strabo was an *αὐτόπτης*, having described as such the view from the Acro-Corinthus.

<sup>b</sup> Both the towns appear

to have still existed in the early part of the Byzantine empire, for the Synecdemus, as I have already observed, includes New Sicyon (*Νεὰ Σικυῶν*) among the chief towns of Achaia. The maritime quarter was probably known at that time by the name of Old Sicyon (*Παλαιὰ Σικυῶν*).

of piracy admitted of commerce by sea, a maritime quarter quickly arose, and as Sicyon was one of the first cities of Greece which attained to opulence and civilization, we may suppose that both portions were united within a common inclosure, at a remote period of time. Indeed, Pausanias himself, at the same time that he respects the local traditions as to *Ægialeus*, confirms the antiquity of the occupation of the hill of *Vasiliká*, by describing all the most ancient monuments of the *Sicyonii* as standing upon it. In the time of the Greek traveller Sicyon was in a most ruinous state, as his description shews. It had particularly suffered from an earthquake in the reign of Antoninus Pius, which had extended its ravages even into Asia<sup>a</sup>.

The remains of the ancient walls of Sicyon are still to be seen in many parts of the circumference of the hill of *Vasiliká*, on the edge of the surrounding cliffs. The hill is divided into an upper and a lower level by a bank, or low ledge of rocks, stretching quite across it, and forming an abrupt separation between the two levels. The upper level, which is at the apex, or southern part of the triangle, occupies about a third part of the whole. In the side of the bank, near the western cliffs, are the remains of

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 7.—Antonino Pio.—Dion. Cass. l. 70. cad. c. 43.—J. Capitol. in An- c. 4.

a stadium and a theatre, in the construction of which, advantage has as usual been taken of the sudden fall of the ground. Not far below these monuments, on the lower level near the centre of the Demetrian site, are the remains of a Roman building with several chambers; there are also some traces of the street which led from this quarter to the theatre. Other foundations are found to the east of the theatre, and near the cliff, on the south-eastern side of the upper level, some extensive foundations of Hellenic buildings. Just below the proscenium of the theatre I found the basis of a column, together with that of one of the antæ, of a small temple: the column was two feet seven inches and a half in diameter.

The total diameter of the theatre was about 400 feet, that of the orchestra 100: the foundations of the proscenium are seventy-five feet in length, and are cut out of the solid rock. The seats of the theatre, some of which are still seen near either extremity, were formed in the same manner. There appear to have been about forty rows in three divisions, separated by two *diazómata*. Each wing was supported by a mass of masonry penetrated by a vomitory or arched passage, the walls and vault of which are formed of quadrangular stones, put together without any cement apparent on the exterior surface.

The stadium resembles that of Messene, in having had seats which were not continued through the whole length of the sides. About eighty feet of the rectilinear extremity had no seats, and this part, instead of being excavated out of the hill like the rest, is formed of factitious ground, supported at the end by a wall of polygonal masonry, which still exists. The total length, including the seats at the circular end, is about 680 feet, which, deducting the radius of the semicircle, seems hardly to leave a length of 600 Greek feet for the line between the two metæ. It is very possible, however, that an excavation would correct this idea; for it is difficult to believe that there was any difference in the length of the line of the *δρόμος*, or course, in the several stadia of Greece, however dissimilar the stadia may have otherwise been in magnitude, or in their capacity for containing spectators. If the length of the course had ever varied, it must, I think, have been alluded to in some of the ancient authors.

The theatre and stadium, the small temple below the theatre, the Roman building, and the street leading from the latter to the theatre, are all so strongly illustrative of the description of Pausanias, that it can hardly be doubted that the upper level of the tabular hill was the Acropolis of the Sicyon of his time<sup>a</sup>; that the then

<sup>a</sup> ἡ νῦν Ἀκρόπολις.



agora<sup>a</sup> was in the central situation, where now stands the Roman ruin; and that the theatre and stadium are those which he describes. The inference will be, that the foundations of the small temple are those of the Dionysium. The Roman building was probably the prætorium, or criterium, of the Roman governor, during the period between the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, and its restoration by Julius Cæsar, when the greater part of the Corinthia was attached to Sicyon, and this place was the capital of the surrounding country.

In regard to the date of the theatre and stadium, there is some difficulty in forming an opinion. It is natural to presume, from their position near the new Agora, that they were constructed in the time of Demetrius; on the other hand, the words of Pindar already cited<sup>b</sup> favour the belief, that the agonistic celebration, to which they were subservient, took place at the sanctuary of Apollo, which in all ages was on the κορυφή, or hill of Vasiliká; and consequently, that the stadium and theatre of Sicyon were always in the position in which we find the ruins of those two monuments. It is very possible, nevertheless, that the greater part of the existing remains are repairs of the time of Demetrius.

<sup>a</sup> ἡ νῦν Ἀγορά.

<sup>b</sup> Vide p. 359, note <sup>b</sup>.

The description of Pausanias appears to indicate, that there were three gates to the Sicyon of his time : 1. that of Corinth ; 2. the Sacred Gate, leading down on the northern side into the plain and to the maritime quarter of Sicyon ; 3. a gate in the south-eastern cliff, which led by the valley of the Asopus to Phlius. There seems little doubt, that the remarkable opening in the rocks adjacent to Vasiliká is the position of the Sacred Gate, and, consequently, that the Athenæum and Heræum, two of the most ancient buildings of the Sicyonii, stood upon the site of the modern village. At the opening in the rocks near Vasiliká there is now a fine fountain ; but I searched in vain for that which was called Stazusa, because it distilled from the roof of a cavern : it would fix the position of the gate by which Pausanias enters the city from Corinth. The gate of Phlius, it is natural to presume, was nearly in the position where I ascended through the cliffs, coming from the site of Phlius.

The military importance of Sicyon, when its fortifications extended from the hill of Vasiliká to the sea-shore, was inferior only to that of Corinth. It closed the maritime plain on the west, as Corinth did on the east ; and in like manner as the Acro-Corinthus commanded the entrance of the two narrow valleys of Tenea and Cleonæ,

which on either side of that mountain are the natural gates of access towards the Argolis, so Sicyon occupied the entrance of the longer and more difficult ravine of the Asopus. The river Nemea forms a third opening of the same kind through the gorges of Mount Apesas. And thus it appears, that the same construction of Achaia, so remarkable in sailing along the coast of that province, is continued through the Sicyonia and Corinthia; that the Achaian chain, which begins at Patræ, is prolonged as far as Cenchreïæ, on the shore of the Saronic Gulf; and that in every part the rivers reach the maritime level through narrow glens, which are the natural communications with the interior country. With the exception, however, of the summits Apesas and Acro-Corinthus, the northern range of the Peloponnesian mountains is of a less lofty character at the eastern end than in any other part.

It may be inferred from Xenophon<sup>a</sup>, that a fortress called Epieicia formed the subsidiary protection of the Sicyonian plain, at the entrance of the valley of the river Nemea. Previously to the great battle<sup>b</sup> fought on the banks of this stream, in the summer of the year B. c. 394, the Lacedæmonians and their allies were at Si-

<sup>a</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 4. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> μεγάλη μάχη. Demosth. in Leptin.

cyon, their opponents, consisting of Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, and Bœotians, at Nemea. As the Lacedæmonians were advancing along the plain towards Corinth, they were met by the adverse army near Epieicia, and having suffered from the missiles of the light troops directed from the heights against their right or unprotected side, they declined to their left towards the sea. The enemy then encamped behind the torrent <sup>a</sup>, upon which the Lacedæmonians followed their example at the distance of a stade from them, in the midst of the plantations which covered the plain. The Lacedæmonian army consisted of 13,500 hoplitæ, against 24,000, with a similar disproportion in cavalry and light troops; but, notwithstanding this disadvantage, and that their allies were everywhere beaten and slain in great numbers, the Spartans gained the victory, with the loss of only eight men <sup>b</sup>.

In the following year Praxitas, after having broken down the Long Walls of Corinth, and occupied Sidus and Crommyon beyond the Isthmus, fortified and placed a garrison in Epieicia

<sup>a</sup> κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἔμπροσθεν ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν. Xenophon seems to have thought "the torrent" a sufficient designation of the river

Nemea, as he had applied the name to the district a few lines before.

<sup>b</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 4. c. 3.

for the purpose of covering the position of his allies in the Sicyonia before he departed for Sparta<sup>a</sup>. This fact again supports the conjecture of Epieicia having been on the Nemea, as that river formed the boundary of the Sicyonia towards Corinth.

Thyamia, as I have already remarked, was a post which the Sicyonii occupied and fortified when they were at war with the Phliasii, in consequence of the adherence of the latter to the cause of the Lacedæmonians after the battle of Leuctra. It belonged probably to the Phlasiæ, but, like Tricaranum, had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The Sicyonii were engaged in fortifying the place<sup>b</sup>, when the Phliasii undertook, with the assistance of a body of mercenaries under the Athenian Chares, to dislodge them. While the horsemen of Phlius advanced trotting and sometimes galloping, the hoplitæ followed them running, and were at no great distance in the rear. They arrived at Thyamia a little before sunset, and so completely surprised their adversaries, that the latter had only time to escape, leaving even the provisions which had been prepared for their supper. The Phliasii having, with the assistance of the Corinthians, completed the fortifications of Thy-

<sup>a</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 4. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Id. l. 7. c. 2.



mia, retained the place until the end of the war. It is evident, from these circumstances, that Thyamia was towards the frontiers of Phlius and Sicyon. It would seem also, that the interval between Phlius and Thyamia was plain, and that the distance was not very great; it is probable, therefore, that it stood in the narrowest part of the valley of the Asopus, perhaps about four miles from Polýfengo, on the road to Vasiliká.

On the descent of the ridge of Mount *Titane*, leading from the valley of Késari to *Sicyon*, I remarked some Hellenic remains, belonging apparently to a dependent fortress of the Sicyonia, which commanded the road from Sicyon to Stymphalus and Pellene. There is nothing in ancient history, as far as I am aware, that can lead to a knowledge of its name. Xenophon relates<sup>a</sup>, that when the first succours sent from Sicily to the Lacedæmonians in twenty triremes, by Dionysius the Elder, in the year B. C. 368, had defeated the Sicyonians in the field, they then captured the fortress<sup>b</sup> of Geræ; but, as they re-embarked soon afterwards and sailed to Syracuse, it would rather seem that Geræ was in the maritime plain. Stephanus names Buphia and Phœbia, the former upon the au-

<sup>a</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. l. 7. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> τειχος.

thority of Ephorus, as two places of the Sicyonia<sup>a</sup>.

The most remarkable dependency of Sicyon was Titane. The road thither has already been described from Pausanias<sup>b</sup>, who proceeds to inform us, that the Asclepieium on the summit of the mountain Titane was built by Alexanor son of Machaon, son of Æsculapius. Around it there were dwellings chiefly for the use of those who, as at other hiera of Æsculapius, came to solicit the compassion of the deity, and probably the medical advice of his priests. Within the peribolus of the temple stood some aged cypresses and a brazen statue of Granianus of Sicyon, who had been often successful at Olympia. Within the temple were statues of Æsculapius, of Hygieia, of Alexanor, and of Evamerion (the same person called Acesius by the Epidaurii). Of the statues of Æsculapius and Hygieia little could be seen, on account of the long garments with which they were covered, and that of Hygieia, moreover, by the votive hair of women. A statue of Hercules stood in either pediment, and figures of Victory at its extremities (on the acroteria)<sup>c</sup>. In the portico were wooden statues of Bacchus, Hecate, Venus, Ceres, and Fortune,

<sup>a</sup> Stephan. in Βουφία et Φοιβ. α.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἵτοις Ἑρακλῆς καὶ Νίκαι πρὸς τοῖς περὶ εἰσιν.

and a statue in stone of Æsculapius Gortynius. Some sacred serpents were fed in the temple. On the descent of the hill there was an altar of the Winds, together with four pits<sup>a</sup>, used for the performance of certain ceremonies to pacify the winds, among which the priest is said to have sung the incantation of Medeia. Besides the Asclepieium, there was a temple of Minerva at Titane, containing an ancient wooden statue of the goddess. Here it was customary, upon particular occasions, to worship Coronis, whose wooden statue, kept elsewhere, was then brought into the temple. On the way from Titane to the maritime Sicyon there was a temple of Juno, on the left of the road, without roof or statue.

After making many inquiries of the villagers of Vasiliká for ancient coins, I have only been able to procure two, and both these are didrachmæ, in silver, of Sicyon itself, on which are represented on one side a dove standing, and expanding its wings, as if about to fly, on the other a dove on the wing, within a garland of olive. On one of the coins the letters ΣΕ are distinguishable, the sigma of an archaic form. I notice the circumstance, because other coins, of a style very similar, but having a chimæra in place of the standing bird, and the legend ΣΕ,

<sup>a</sup> ῥόθρους.

have been assigned by numismatists to the island Seriphus, though it is clear, I think, that they belonged, as well as the two above mentioned, to Sicyon, at an early period, when the name was written *Σεικυὼν*. The substitution of the iota for the diphthong in proper names was very common in the later ages of Greece, and accordingly there exist coins of Sicyon, of a fabric less ancient, with the same types of the chimæra, the bird, and the olive wreath, and inscribed with the letters *ΣΙ*. Drachmæ so inscribed, with a chimæra on one side, and on the other the flying dove, without the olive, are the most common of all silver coins. I have seen some thousands of them since I have been in Greece. They are probably all posterior to the time of Demetrius; at least I have met with one with the letters *ΣΙ*, *ΔΗ*,<sup>a</sup> shewing, that during the short period in which the Sicyonians preserved the name of Demetrius, the diphthong was already dropped.

The hill of *Sicyon* commands a most beautiful and interesting prospect. To the eastward is seen the plain so celebrated for its fertility, which at the other extremity is terminated by the noble mountain of Acro-Corinthus, and which is separated by the Isthmus, and the bay of Lechæum, from the Oneian mountains,

<sup>a</sup> *Σικυωνίων Δημητρίων*.

closing the view in that direction. From the shore of the bay of Lechæum rises that separate portion of the Oneia which terminates in a rocky peak above Perakhóra, a village most agreeably situated on its western face, amidst cultivated slopes and olive plantations, descending to the cape opposite to Sicyon, upon which anciently stood the Heræum, or the temple of Juno Acræa. The inhabitants of Perakhóra make pitch from the forests of their mountain, and in good years 6000 barrels of excellent oil from their olive trees. The cape of Juno is called Melangávi<sup>a</sup>, or Black Cape. A little to the eastward of it, towards the Isthmus, is the anchorage named Agrió, a corruption perhaps of *Acræa*. Farther, in the same direction, there is a lake called Vuliasméni<sup>b</sup>, which is separated from the sea by a narrow strip of land, and still farther eastward on the same shore the Lutra or Hot-springs, already noticed. On the other side of Melangávi there projects beyond it, in the view from *Sicyon*, the cape which is opposite to the Kalanisiá, or small islands, situated in the entrance of the north-eastern branch of the Corinthiac Gulf, which terminates in the ports of *Pagæ*, *Ægosthenæ*, and *Creusis*. I have already remarked that this cape is probably the

<sup>a</sup> Μελαγκάβι.<sup>b</sup> Βουλιασμένη.



ancient Olmiæ. Beyond these objects and the gulf to the left of them, the horizon is magnificently closed by the renowned summits of Cithæron, Helicon, and Parnassus. The great ridges of the two latter mountains are blended in the view from Sicyon, but there is an opening between Cithæron and Helicon, which is filled by an insulated rocky mountain, rising immediately from the sea-shore, which is now called Korombíli. I am unable to attach the ancient name either to this mountain or to the peak of Perakhóra, although they are two of the most remarkable objects in the eastern part of the Corinthiac Gulf.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### ACHAIA.

From Vasiliká to Xyló-kastro, and Kamáres.—Rivers *HELISSON* and *SYS*.—*DONUSSA*.—To Mavra Lithária.—*ÆGEIRA*, *PHELLOE*, *ARISTONAUTÆ*.—To Akráta.—*ÆGÆ*.—To Trupíá.—*BURA*.—*HELICE*.—To Vostítza.—*CERYNEIA*.—Ancient Geography between *ÆGIUM* and *ÆGEIRA*.—To Pátra.—Port *ERINEUS*.—Ancient Geography between *PATRÆ* and *ÆGIUM*.—*LEONTIUM*.

**APRIL 25.**—This afternoon, at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ , I descend from Vasiliká to Mulki, a farm and tower belonging to Nuri Bey. On the descent I observe some remains of the ancient walls of the city; there are some others near Mulki, and they are traceable also at intervals towards the sea, shewing clearly that the whole space, a distance of more than two miles from the northern point of the Acropolis, was at some period connected by walls with the hill of Vasiliká. At 2.45 we cross the river which flows on the western side of that hill; the road then approaches the sea obliquely, and at 2.52 joins the coast road from Corinth. The paralian plain now becomes narrower; at 2.58 cross a small stream, from a gorge in the mountain on the left: 3.12 pass some ancient

foundations on the road side, where appears to have been a wall reaching to the shore, from the mountain on the left. The river which we crossed at 2.45, and which flows on the western side of the hill of Sicyon, I take to be the ancient Helisson<sup>a</sup>, and that of 2.58 the Sythas. Pausanias says, that “on the road from the port of Sicyon towards Aristonautæ,” which is precisely our route, “there first occurred a temple of Neptune on the left, then the river Helisson, then the Sythas.”<sup>b</sup> On the festival of Apollo there was a procession of boys and girls from Sicyon to the Sythas, from whence they returned to the temple of Peitho, and from thence to the temple of Apollo<sup>c</sup>, both of which, as we have seen, were situated in the Demetrian agora. Hence it may be inferred that the Sythas was not very far from Sicyon. The same river is called Sys by Ptolemy, who names no other between Lechæum and the boundary of Achaia. The wall which stretched from the mountain to the shore may have marked the boundary of the Sicyonia.

At 3.20 we cross a small stream like the last; at 3.32 pass the projection of the hills, which

<sup>a</sup> Strabo (p. 338.) says      Helisson of Pausanias.

there was a river Selleeis near  
Sicyon (περὶ Σικυωνῶν); possibly  
this was the same as the He-

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. l. 2. c. 12.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. l. 2. c. 7.

terminates the view of the coast line from Corinth, and which leaves a very narrow level only between it and the sea. A little beyond, the road opens upon a plain of considerable breadth, but which is almost wholly uncultivated. We follow the sea-beach, and at 3.50 cross the mouth of a river, half an hour beyond which we incline towards the hills, enter the olive plantations of Xyló-kastro, and, after crossing the river of *Pellene*, arrive at 5 P. M. at Xyló-kastro.

April 26. Ride obliquely across the maritime plain in half an hour to the khan of Kamári, or Kamáres<sup>2</sup>, which takes its name from a village of that name on the sea-side, belonging to Nuri Bey. On the eastern side of the khan are some pieces of ancient brick-work, and some squared blocks of stone lying near them in the fields. They are some remains perhaps of *Aristonautæ*, the port of *Pellene*. Near the tower of Kamáres, the name of which (meaning arches) seems to indicate the existence of more considerable remains in former times, there is a little curve in the coast, exposed to the north, but which anciently may have received some assistance from art. At least I see no appearance of a harbour in any other position. The place where

<sup>2</sup> Καμάρι, Καμάρες.

I landed, at the mouth of the river of Xylókastro, and which is used as the place of embarkation for the district of Tríkkala, is still more exposed than Kamáres, being protected only by a low point, so that when the weather appears threatening, vessels generally seek shelter in one of the secure anchorages of the opposite coast.

The Khan of Kamáres stands at the foot of the pointed mountain so conspicuous from almost every part of the Gulf, called Koryfí<sup>a</sup>. It is beyond a doubt the ancient Gonoessa, or Donoessa, or Donussa, to which Homer has well applied the epithet of lofty; for it is higher than the Acropolis of Corinth, and more conspicuous from its being more abrupt and equally insulated. Pausanias has accurately described its position, as being between Ægeira and Pellene.

At 7.35 I leave the Khan, and at 7.43 the Pyrgo of Nuri Bey on the right: 7.52 cross the river Fónissa, issuing from a valley on the western side of Mount Koryfí. On the right bank of the river I observe some remains of ancient buildings of brick, similar to those at Kamáres. Our road is now an uncultivated narrow plain, covered with bushes, which stretches along the shore, at the foot of white cliffs, clothed with pines. At 8.50, having mounted to an upper

<sup>a</sup> Κορυφί.



level, which terminates seaward in the cliffs just mentioned, we arrive abreast of Avgó; this peninsulated peak, though not high, forms a remarkable object, wherever it is visible. The upper level unites it with the mountains, and thus it forms a natural separation between the *Pellenæa* and *Ægeiratis*.

The cliffs now retire inland, and leave a maritime plain covered with currant vineyards, belonging to Zákhluli, which village stands in a lofty situation, above the right bank of a river flowing from the western side of Mavrióro; this stream we cross at 9. The coast now curves considerably, and forms a very wide bay, which may be called the bay of Akráta; though it affords no safe anchorage, being entirely exposed to the northward. At 9.27 we pass at the foot of a woody height, upon which are situated the Kalývia of Zákhluli<sup>a</sup>, just above the bottom of a curve of the coast. At 9.45 cross a small stream, halt five minutes, and at 10 arrive at the inner curve of the bay of Akráta. At 10.10 a square mass of ruin, formed of rough stones, cemented with mortar, is on the road side, close to the sea-beach, and upon it are three or four quadrangular blocks of stone. At 10.32 we cross a rocky point, advancing into the sea. Here are two little creeks in the rocks, and the found-

<sup>a</sup> Ζαχουλίτινα Καλύβια.

ations of Hellenic walls upon the latter; together with some squared blocks in a small level corn-field, just within the rocks. The place is called τὰ Μαύρα Λιθάρία (the Black Rocks); it seems to have been the port of *Ægeira*, for to the left, on the summit of a hill, which is separated by a narrow plain from the shore, are some vestiges of an ancient city, which I cannot doubt to have been *Ægeira*. They occupy an upper summit, which is separated from a lower towards the plain, by a small precipice. The walls are traceable around the brow of the hill, and there are said to be several foundations and fragments of antiquity in the inclosed space.

Polybius, in relating an expedition of the *Ætolians*, who surprised *Ægeira* from the opposite town of *Æeantheia*, in *Phocis*, in the first year of the Social War, but who were driven out with great loss after obtaining possession of the city, has truly described the place as situated opposite to Mount *Parnassus*, upon hills strong and difficult of access, seven stades from the sea, and near a river <sup>a</sup>. Pausanias tells us <sup>b</sup>, that *Ægeira* was the *Hyperesia* of *Homer*, and that it was still sometimes known by that name. Its objects worthy of notice were a temple of *Jupiter*, which contained a sitting statue of the

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. l. 4. c. 57.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. *Achaic*. c. 26.

god in Pentelic marble, by Eucleides of Athens, together with an upright statue of Minerva made of wood, gilded and painted, and having the face, hands, and feet of ivory. The temple of Diana contained a statue of the goddess of recent workmanship, with an ancient statue of Iphigenia, to whom the temple was supposed to have been originally dedicated. The temple of Apollo was very ancient. The statue was naked, colossal, and made of wood, and was supposed by Pausanias, upon comparing it with a Hercules at Sicyon, to have been the work of Laphaes of Phlius. The same temple contained upright statues of Æsculapius, Isis, and Sarapis, of Pentelic marble, and in the æti some works of statuary, apparently coeval with the building. But the deity held in the greatest veneration by the Ægeirataë, was Venus Urania, into whose temple men were not permitted to enter, nor into that of the Syrian goddess, except on particular days and after certain expiations. A building dedicated to Fortune contained a statue of Fortune bearing the horn of Amaltheia, with a winged Love standing beside her, to signify that success in love depends more upon good fortune than upon beauty. In the same building there was a monument in honour of a young hero of Ægeira, who had been slain in battle. Near the youth, who was represented as armed

with a thorax, stood his two brothers ; his three sisters were taking off their bracelets as a sign of mourning for him, and his aged father was weeping, (probably seated).

From the temple of Jupiter (which we hence learn to have been at the summit of the town) there was an ascent of forty stades through the mountains to a town of no great note <sup>a</sup>, called Phelloe. This place, which, according to Pausanias, was not inhabited in the time of the Iones, he describes as abounding in springs of water, and as surrounded with land well suited to vines, beyond which were rocky mountains covered with oak, and peopled with deer and wild swine. Phelloe still preserved temples of Bacchus and Diana ; the statue of the former was of wood, coated with cinnabar, that of Diana, which was in brass, represented the goddess as drawing an arrow from her quiver. Some remains of Phelloe, if I am not misinformed, are to be seen on the road from Vlogoká to Zákhuli.

Strabo says <sup>b</sup>, that between Ægæ and the city Pellene, there was a small town <sup>c</sup> also called Pellene, and that here were fabricated the celebrated Pellenic cloaks or blankets <sup>d</sup>, which were

<sup>a</sup> πόλισμα οὐκ ἐπιφανές.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo, p. 386.

<sup>c</sup> κώμη.

<sup>d</sup> χαίται Ἑλληνικαί.

so much valued as to be offered as prizes in some of the agonistic contests at Pellene<sup>a</sup>. As Phelloe was exactly in the position which Strabo indicates, one cannot but suspect that he may have been mistaken as to the name; perhaps the greater part of the cloth, though it bore the name of Pellene, was made at Phelloe. In fact, the abundant waters at the latter place seem to afford greater conveniences for the fulling of cloth than Pellene possessed, where water was scarce, at least in the town.

Pausanias states, that the port<sup>b</sup> of the Ægeirataë was twelve stades from the upper city<sup>c</sup>; in Polybius, it has been seen that the number is seven: Pausanias is the more correct of the two, if the town extended no farther towards the sea than the upper range of cliffs which I have mentioned. In the time of the Social War, perhaps it comprehended also the lower level, which immediately overlooked the maritime plain.

According to the number of stades between Aristonautæ and the maritime Ægeira, as stated by Pausanias, namely, 120, Aristonautæ

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 386.—Aristoph. Av. v. 1421. et Schol.—Pindar. Olymp. 9. v. 146. et Schol.—Hesych. et Phot. in Πελληνικάι χλαῖναι.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπίνειον.

<sup>c</sup> ὁδὸς δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιπείου δύο σταδίων καὶ δέκα ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν.



will coincide better with Xyló-kastro than with Kamáres, if we assume the Mavra Lithária for the *maritime Ægeira*, the latter position giving a rate of about twelve stades to the geographical mile in direct distance, which is too great, the former ten and one-third, which is nearly the correct rate on a line of that length. The distances of Pausanias, however, on this coast, are not sufficiently complete or accurate to justify a reliance on this evidence alone; on the other hand, the ruins at Kamáres, with the little harbour at that place, give it strongly the preference over the mouth of the Xyló-kastro, where no such appearances of a harbour are found.

Having crossed the Mavra Lithária, which interrupt the sandy beach of the bay for the distance of ten minutes, we enter the plain of Akráta, which consists of a white clayey soil, entirely covered with currant plantations. On the hills above stand several villages, of which the largest, and that nearest to the site of *Ægeira*, is called Vlogoká<sup>a</sup>. They belong to Khassiá, a sub-district of the Kalávryta Kázasi; the slopes around them produce an abundance of fine wheat. At 10.45 cross a large stream, which now whitens all the bay with the colour

<sup>a</sup> Βλογοκά.

of its waters, but which, in dry weather, is said to be very shallow. It is called the river of Khassiá, being formed from the waters of that mountainous district. This is evidently the river flowing by Ægeira, which is mentioned by Polybius, and it is the same also, I think, as the Crius, which Pausanias describes as joining the sea near Ægeiræ<sup>a</sup>, though in this case he is incorrect in saying that it rises in the mountains above Pellene<sup>b</sup>, for the origin of the Khassiótiko is not far from that of the Akráta or *Crathis*, and nearer to the *Pheneatice* than the *Pellenæa*, between which latter district and the Khassiótiko, the river of Zákhusi or *Phelloe* is interposed.

If the river of Khassiá be not the *Crius*, the Zakhulítiko is the only one to which that ancient name can be applied. But although a part of its contributions are from the western side of Mount Mavrióro, which is literally one of the mountains *above Pellene*, and although it joins the sea to the westward of Cape Avgó, and was therefore at its junction with the sea a river of the *Ægeiratis*, the distance from thence to the site of Ægeira seems too great to answer to the apparent meaning of Pausanias in the words *πρὸς Αἰγείρας*. Nor is it likely that he should

<sup>a</sup> πρὸς Αἰγείρας.

<sup>b</sup> ἐκ τῶν ὀρεῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Πελλήνην.

have noticed the stream of Zákhluli, and omitted all mention of the larger river of Khassiá; on the other hand, he may very possibly have been misinformed as to the origin of the river of Ægeira, or perhaps he here used the word *ὑπὲρ* as he does on many other occasions, without any intention of being precise. He mentions another stream as rising in the mountains of Pellene, but the name is omitted<sup>a</sup>. He alluded probably to the river of Xyló-kastro, on which supposition the Fónissa and the Zakhulítiko, although such streams as he is in the habit of noticing, have both been neglected by him; it is, perhaps, to a defective text, of which there are some other appearances, that we may ascribe both this omission, and that of the *name* of the river of Xyló-kastro.

<sup>a</sup> The entire passage is as follows: Ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων κατέρχονται ὑπὲρ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, πρὸς μὲν Αἰγείρας καλούμενος Κρίος· ἔχειν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ Τιτᾶνος Κριεῦς· ὡς καὶ ἄλλος ποταμὸς ὃς ἀρχόμενος ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους εἰς τὸν Ἑρμὸν κάτεισι· καθότι δὲ Πελληνεῦσιν ὄροι τῆς χώρας πρὸς Σικυωνίους εἰσὶ, κατὰ τοῦτο ποταμὸς σφίσι τις . . . . . ἴσχατος ποταμῶν τῶν Ἀχαϊκῶν εἰς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐκδίδωσι θάλασσαν. The words ὡς καὶ ἄλλος were an emendation of Paulmier, and are confirmed by

Pliny, H. N. l. 5. c. 29.—The name Crius naturally recalled to the recollection of Pausanias a river of a country with which he was well acquainted. Kuhnius proposed to alter *τις* to *Σὺς*, the river mentioned by Ptolemy; but *Sys*, as I have already remarked, is written *Sythas* by Pausanias, and it was a river of the Sicyonia, near Sicyon, whereas the river in question, without a name, belonged to the Pellenæa.

After having crossed the currant vineyards, we arrive at the river Akráta, the ancient Crathis, which, rising in the mountain of Zarúkhla, and after receiving the *Styx* from Mount Khelmós at Klukínes, here issues from the mountains. Strabo derives its name from its being formed of two rivers<sup>a</sup>. At 11½ we cross it by a bridge of seven arches, and halt at the Khan of Akráta, which stands on the summit of the steep bank of the river a little within a bluff point, which here, projecting from the mountain, forms a conspicuous cape from 'Epakto, Vostítza, as well as the northern and eastern parts of the gulf; this height, however, is not exactly on the sea side, being separated from it by a small plain covered with currant grounds, through which the river discharges itself. At a short distance westward from the mouth of the river the plain terminates, and the sea begins to break upon a steep rocky coast covered with brushwood, along the summit of which is the Vostítza road.

Ægæ, one of the ancient cities of Ægialus, and a rival of Helice in the fame and riches of its temple of Neptune<sup>b</sup>, was probably situated

<sup>a</sup> Περὸς δὲ ταῖς Ἀχαϊκαῖς κίρνασθαι τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἔχων.—  
Αἰγαῖς ὁ Κράθις ῥεῖ ποταμὸς, ἐκ  
δυεῖν ποταμῶν ἀυξόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Strabo, p. 386.

<sup>b</sup> Οἱ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δῶρ' ἀνάγουσι.

Hom. Il. © v. 203.

on the site of the Khan of Akráta; for though neither Strabo nor Pausanias, who agree in placing Ægæ on the Crathis, distinguish the bank on which it stood, yet, as the right bank is low and often inundated, we can hardly doubt that the commanding height which rises from the left bank, and upon which the khan is built, must have been the site of the ancient city. As it was deserted before the time of Strabo, who adds, that the site was then called Æga, I am not surprised at being unable to find any other remains of antiquity than some broken pottery and fragments of wrought stones in the neighbouring fields. The abrupt termination of the height to which I have already alluded, is a walk of five minutes from the khan to the north-westward. It commands a noble view of the gulf, and of the adjacent parts of *Bæotia*, *Phocis* and *Locris* from the *Megarís* to *Naupactus*. On the opposite coast of *Locris*, between Cape Andromákhi, at the western entrance of the Gulf of *Crissa*, and the Khan of Ferát Efféendi near 'Epakto, I observe first a valley on the coast where is the village of Dhídhavra, then a cape near Kíseli, then Cape Psaromýti, on the eastern side of which is Petrinítza in a plain, and on the other side of Psaromýti the Trisónia islands. Behind the coast rise the great moun-



tains which I crossed in the way from Sálona to 'Epakto.

At 2.55, leaving the khan we enter upon the route along the rugged hills just described; it is called Kakí Skala. At 3.6 the road to Kalávryta mounts the hill to the left. At 3.38 the Potamítika Kalývia are on the summit of the same heights. At 4 descend from the Kakí Skála into a small maritime plain belonging to Dhiakófto<sup>a</sup>; this village stands among the hills to our left, near the river which I crossed in the way from Klukínes to Megaspílio on the 3d of April. It was there called the Lago, but is better known on the coast by the name of Dhiakófto. The other stream, which I passed the same day, and which rises near Apano Potamiá, or Potamniá, is a branch of it. At 4.7 we cross the river of Dhiakófto. Through the gorge I recognize the flat topped rocky summit between Potamniá and the Lago, called Petrúki.

After having traversed the plain we again travel for a short distance along the summit of cliffs bordering the coast, and then enter upon the great maritime level which extends beyond Vostítza, and which at one time was divided among the four cities of Bura, Helice, Ægium, and Rhypæ, but at last belonged to Ægium

<sup>a</sup> Διακόφτος, or Διακόπτος.

alone. At 4.48 we arrive at the river of Kálavryta, but find it so swollen with the late rains that we are obliged to follow its right bank for 10 minutes to a bridge, which stands just at the entrance of a stupendous opening between two perpendicular rocks, beautifully fringed with trees and shrubs. We then mount a hill overlooking the maritime plain, and backed by rocky heights which are connected with the precipices on the side of the river. At 5.10 arrive at Trupιά<sup>a</sup>, a metókhi of the monastery of Megaspílio, with a church of St. Irene, delightfully situated in the midst of woods interspersed with olive plantations, vineyards, and corn-fields, on the crest of a steep height, the foot of which is separated from the sea by a plain covered with currant plantations. The convent commands a magnificent prospect of the gulf, of the opposite shore of *Locris*, and of all the great summits from Mount *Geraneia* to *Naupactus*.

I doubt whether there is any thing in Greece, abounding as it is in enchanting scenery and interesting recollections, that can rival the Corinthiac Gulf. There is no lake scenery in Europe that can compete with it. Its coasts, broken into an infinite variety of outline by the ever-changing mixture of bold promontory, gentle slope, and cultivated level, are crowned

<sup>a</sup> Τρουπιά.

on every side by lofty mountains of the most pleasing and majestic forms ; the fine expanse of water inclosed in this noble frame, though not so much frequented by ships as it ought to be by its natural adaptation to commerce, is sufficiently enlivened by vessels of every size and shape to present at all times an animated scene. Each step in the Corinthiac Gulf presents to the traveller a new prospect, not less delightful to the eye than interesting to the mind, by the historical fame and illustrious names of the objects which surround him. And if, in the latter peculiarity, the celebrated panorama in the Saronic Gulf, described by Sulpicius <sup>a</sup>, be preferable, that arm of the Ægæan is in almost every part inferior to the Corinthian sea in picturesque beauty ; the surrounding mountains are less lofty and less varied in their heights and outlines, and, unless where the beautiful plain of Athens is sufficiently near to decorate the prospect, it is a picture of almost unmitigated sterility and rocky

<sup>a</sup> In the celebrated letter of consolation to Cicero for the loss of his daughter Tullia. “ Ex Asiâ rediens, cùm ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cœpi regiones circumcirca prospicere : post me erat Ægina, ante Megara: dextra

Piræus, sinistra Corinthus, quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent. Cœpi egomet mecum siccogitare, Hem ! nos homunculi, &c.” Cic. Ep. ad div. l. 4. ep. 5.

wildness exhibited in every possible form of mountain, promontory, and island. It must, however, be admitted, that it is only by comparison that such a scene can be depreciated.

The metókhi of St. Irene stood formerly in the plain, but the monks were obliged to quit that situation on account of its unhealthiness. It possesses all the currant plantations of the plain, and the olive-trees and corn-land on the hill, besides large flocks which feed still higher in the adjacent mountain. Trupíá stands exactly, I think, on the site of Bura, but the only remains I can find are some foundations not far from the convent, on the descent of the hill on the Vostítza road. They seem to have been those of a temple. If this be the site of Bura, the lines of Ovid, in which he asserts that the remains of Bura, like those of Helice, were still to be seen at the bottom of the sea <sup>a</sup>, furnish a good instance of how little the Roman poets cared about topographical accuracy. Pliny, indeed, makes the same assertion <sup>b</sup>, and it might therefore be suspected that the ancient Bura, like Helice, stood on the shore, and that after

<sup>a</sup> Si quæras Helicen et Buram, Achaidos urbes,  
Invenies sub aquis, et adhuc ostendere nautæ  
Inclinata solent cum mœnibus oppida mersis.

Ovid. Metam. l. 15. v. 293.

<sup>b</sup> Elicen et Buram in Sinu tigia apparent. Plin. l. 2. c. 92.  
Corinthio, quarum in alto ves-

the earthquake the site was removed to the hill. But Strabo and Pausanias are much better authorities than the two Latin authors. Strabo clearly and correctly distinguishes the nature of the convulsion which destroyed either city. "Bura", he remarks, "was destroyed by an opening of the earth, Helice by the swelling of the sea" <sup>a</sup>. Pausanias makes the same distinction, though less clearly. "At the same time", he says, "that the deity withdrew Helice from the sight of men, Bura was shaken by an earthquake so violently, that not even the ancient statues in the temples were saved; and of the inhabitants of Bura, those only who happened to be absent in war or from other causes, and who became founders of the new city" <sup>b</sup>.

The earthquake of Helice was the most fatal of which we have any notice in Grecian history. It occurred two years before the battle of Leuctra, B. C. 373. Heracleides Ponticus, in whose time the earthquake happened, affirms, that the anger of Neptune was excited against the people of Helice, because they had refused to give their statue of Neptune to the Ionian colonists of Asia, or even to supply them with a model of

<sup>a</sup> Βούρα καὶ Ἑλίκη· ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ χάσματος, ἡ δ' ὑπὸ κύματος ἤφαισθη. Strabo, p. 59.

<sup>b</sup> Ὅτε δὲ Ἑλίκην ἐποίησεν ἄδη-

λον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὁ θεός, τότε καὶ τὴν Βούραν σεισμὸς ἐπέλαβεν ἰσχυρός, &c. Pausan. Achaic. c.

25.



the temple; he adds, that the earthquake happened in the ensuing winter <sup>a</sup>. The refusal is said by Diodorus to have been accompanied, on the part of the people of Helice and Bura, by violence towards the Ionian deputies <sup>b</sup>; according to Pausanias and Ælian <sup>c</sup>, even by their murder. Heraclides informs us, that the earthquake took place in the night; that the city, and a space of twelve stades below it, were submerged by the sea; and that the other Achaians, who, on hearing of the disaster, had sent 2000 men for the purpose of removing the dead, when they found that no part of the city remained, divided the remaining lands of Helice among the neighbouring states. More than a century afterwards Eratosthenes <sup>d</sup> visited the place and heard it asserted, that the brazen statue of Neptune holding the hippocampus in his hand was still visible under water, and formed a shoal dangerous to fishermen. Pausanias relates, that after the earthquake had subverted the houses, the sea rose so high as almost to cover

<sup>a</sup> Heracl. Pontic. ap. Strabon, p. 385. Neptune Heliconius was held in the highest veneration among the Ionians, who had temples or altars in several of their cities, but particularly at Panionium in the Prienæa. This worship

still continued in the time of Pausanias. Herodot. l. 1. c. 148.—Strabo, p. 384.—Pausan. Achaic. c. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Diodor. l. 15. c. 49.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. ubi sup.—Ælian. de Nat. Deor. l. 11. c. 19.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Strabon. p. 384.

the trees in the sacred grove of Neptune Heliconius. Not a vestige of Helice remained in his time except some fragments in the sea, having the usual appearance of buildings which had been acted upon by water <sup>a</sup>.

April 27.—A source of water near the Metókhi of Trupíá is probably the fountain Sybaris at Bura, which gave name to the celebrated river and city in Italy <sup>b</sup>.

I descend this morning from the metókhi by the ruins just mentioned to the western foot of the hill of Trupíá, which is here very steep, and then pass through forest-trees and an underwood

<sup>a</sup> The μῆνις Ποσειδῶνος seems to be not yet satisfied. On the 23d of August, 1817, the same spot was again the scene of a similar disaster. The earthquake was preceded by a sudden explosion, which was compared to that of a battery of cannon. The shock which immediately succeeded was said to have lasted a minute and a half, during which the sea rose at the mouth of the *Selinus*, and extended so far as to inundate all the level immediately below Vostítza. After its retreat not a trace was left of some magazines which had stood on the shore, and the sand which had covered the beach was all car-

ried away. The ships anchored in the road were not injured, but the smaller vessels were thrown ashore with more or less damage. In Vostítza sixty-five persons lost their lives, and two thirds of the buildings were entirely ruined, including the Turkish mosque and the houses of the vóivoda and kadý. Five villages in the plain were destroyed, among which was that of Upper Teméni, or Temená. In the bay of Trisónia, on the opposite coast of Rúmeli, the sea rose in the same manner as at Vostítza and advanced 200 paces into the plain.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo, p. 386.

of wild olive <sup>a</sup> and Jerusalem thorn <sup>b</sup>, beautifully festooned with wild grape-vines <sup>c</sup>, and now in all their vernal beauty. On the side of the hill on the left, not far short of the river Bokhúsia, I remark a grotto with votive niches in it, and soon afterwards a sepulchral niche in the rocks on the opposite side of the river: we arrive on the bank in half an hour from Trupíá, not far below the exit of the rocky gorge, through which I descended coming from Megaspílio on the 5th instant. The river answers exactly to the Cerynites of Pausanias, and the ancient city which I then visited, just above the descent into the ravine, to the small city <sup>d</sup> Ceryneia. A lofty tabular rocky summit seen through the opening is called Klokós, from a village of that name on its slope. On the northern side of the same mountain, towards the right bank of the river of Vostítza, there is a monastery dedicated to St. Michael <sup>e</sup>. Pausanias describes the Cerynites as having its origin “in Arcadia and Mount Ceryneia” <sup>f</sup>. Above the site of the ancient town, the river is formed of two branches, of which the western flows from Mount Klokós, the eastern from the mountain on the northern side of

<sup>a</sup> ἀγριελαία.

<sup>b</sup> παλιούρι, zizyphus palurus.

<sup>c</sup> ἄγρια κλήματα.

<sup>d</sup> πόλισμα.

<sup>e</sup> Ἅγιος Ταξιάρχης.

<sup>f</sup> ὃς ἐξ Ἀρχαδίας καὶ ὄρους Κερυνείας ῥέων Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ταύτη παρέρξεισι. Pausan. Achaic. c. 25.

the vale of Kalávryta, on which are situated the villages of Visoká and Kerpení. The mountain of Klokós therefore I take to be the Ceryneia of the ancients, and that Pausanias alludes to the eastern branch of the river by the words ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας, for Mount Klokós is surrounded by Achaian districts, whereas the ridge of Kerpení belonged to the Arcadian city *Cynætha*. In descending the hill, I remarked at the mouth of the river some shoals, which may indicate perhaps the site of the drowned Helice, the spot being nearly at the distance from Ægium, assigned by Pausanias, namely, forty stades. Having fallen into my route of the 5th, and crossed the Bokhúsia at 7.18, we pass the mass of ancient brickwork as before, cross the *Selinus*, or river of Vostítza, at 8.3, and at 8.35 arrive in the town of Vostítza.

I shall here insert an extract of the topographical information of Pausanias, from the three chapters of his *Achaics*<sup>a</sup> which relate to the country between Ægium and Ægeira, as, thus placed before the reader at one view, they may serve more clearly to justify the positions which I have assigned to the ancient places. “On proceeding forward from Ægium, occurred the river named *Selinus*<sup>b</sup>, beyond which, at a

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. *Achaic*. c. 24, 25, 26.

<sup>b</sup> ἴοντι ἐς τὸ πρὸς Σελινοῦς τε ποταμὸς.

distance of forty stades from Ægium, there was a place <sup>a</sup> on the sea-side, called Helice, where formerly stood the city of that name. Quitting the sea-shore, and turning to the right hand, the traveller arrived at the city Ceryneia, which was built in the mountain, above the high road <sup>b</sup>. Pausanias doubted whether the place took its name from a native ruler <sup>c</sup>, or from the river Cerynites. There still existed a temple of the Eumenides, into which it was believed that those who entered were seized with madness, if they had been guilty of murder, or any great impurity or impiety. The statues of the deities were small, and made of wood, but in the vestibule of the temple there were figures of women in marble, of fine workmanship, which were supposed to represent certain priestesses. After having returned from Ceryneia into the public road, and travelled onward to no great distance, a by-road conducted to Bura, which was also situated on a mountain to the right. Bura was said to have derived its name from the daughter of Ion, son of Xuthus, by Helice. Here were temples of Ceres, of Venus, of Bacchus, and of Lucina, with statues of Pentelic marble, by Euclides of Athens. The Ceres was clothed. There was also a temple of Isis. On descending from Bura to the sea occurred the river Buraicus,

<sup>a</sup> χωρίον.<sup>b</sup> ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον.<sup>c</sup> δυνάστης ἐπιχώριος.



and a small oracular statue of Hercules Buraicus, in a cavern: those who consulted the oracle, after praying to the god, threw upon a table four dice <sup>a</sup>, inscribed with certain marks, which were explained on reference to a tablet <sup>b</sup>. The direct road from Helice to the Hercules was thirty stades in length, beyond which there was a perennial <sup>c</sup> river flowing into the sea from an Arcadian mountain. Both the river and the mountain in which were its sources, were called Crathis. At this river formerly stood the city Ægæ. Not far beyond the Crathis, on the right of the road, stood a sepulchral monument, on which there was an almost obliterated picture of a man standing by a horse. From thence there was a road of thirty stades to the place called Gæus, which was a temple of Earth, surnamed Eurysternus [Wide-bosomed], containing a very ancient statue of wood. From the cave of Hercules, on the road to Bura <sup>d</sup>, to the harbour of Ægeira, which bore the same name as the city, there was a distance of seventy-two stades. On the sea-side the Ægeirataæ had nothing remarkable. The way from the harbour to the upper city was twelve stades in length."

Here it is seen that Pausanias mentions only four rivers between Ægium and the port of

<sup>a</sup> ἀστραγάλους.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν πίνακι.

<sup>c</sup> ἀένναος.

<sup>d</sup> κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Βουραικὴν.

Ægeira, whereas there are six, of considerable size, namely : 1. The river of Vostítza ; 2. The Bokhúsia ; 3. The river of Kalávryta ; 4. The Lago, or river of Dhiakófto ; 5. The Akráta, or river of Klukínes ; 6. The river of Khassiá. As to the last, I have already offered some reasons for believing that Pausanias has noticed it in another place, under the name of Crius. Of the five remaining, it can hardly be questioned, from the words of Pausanias, that the river of Vostítza is the *Selinus*, for the real topography shews that Strabo has incorrectly described the *Selinus* as flowing through the city of the Ægienses<sup>a</sup>, there being no river in that situation. It will follow that the Bokhúsia was the *Cerynites*. That the Akráta was the ancient *Crathis*, there is still less reason for doubting. Independently of the resemblance of the modern name, the magnitude and permanence of the stream in summer, accord with the epithet *ἀένναος*, by which Pausanias distinguishes the *Crathis* from the other rivers of Achaia, which in summer are for the most part of that *pulverulent*<sup>b</sup> kind so common in Greece. Besides these proofs, there are the strong geographical arguments, first, of the vicinity to *Pheneus* of the mountain, (anciently called *Cra-*

<sup>a</sup> διὰ τῆς Αἰγίεων πόλεως. Strabo, p. 387.

<sup>b</sup> —pulverulenta calcandaque flumina.—

Stat. Theb. l. 1. v. 358.

*this*;) in which are the sources of the river Ak-ráta<sup>a</sup>; secondly, that of its being joined by the *Styx*, from the cascade of the mountain *Aroania* (now Khelmós), and thirdly, the vicinity of the latter mountain to the *Cleitória*<sup>b</sup>.

As to the Buraicus, there may be a question arising from the following causes: 1st, Pausanias has not mentioned the origin of that river, as he has of the Cerynites and Crathis: 2dly, There are no remains of Bura of sufficient importance to lead to any opinion as to the exact site of that city, without a previous identifying of the river: 3dly, The only information which Pausanias gives us, regarding the position of the Buraicus, is that it was seventy stades from Ægium, and seventy-two from the maritime Ægeira, distances which, added together, will give too great a rate to the stade on the whole distance, to allow of our placing implicit reliance upon their accuracy: Nor, 4thly, would even the proportion of the two numbers decide the question between the Lago and river of Kalávryta, as the point resulting from that proportion will fall between the two streams. But on further examination there can be little hesitation in choosing between them. 1st, It is not likely that Pausanias should have mentioned the Lago, and omitted the river of Kalávryta, which is much the larger: 2dly,

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Arcad. c. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. c. 17, 18.

There are no remains of an ancient town on the banks of the Lago, as I could perceive or learn, whereas there are some remains, as I have stated, on several parts of the heights of Trupιά, where the strong and commanding situation adds much to the probability of its having been an ancient site. It appears from Strabo that the real name of the Buraicus, or river of Bura, was Erasinus, or Arsinus <sup>a</sup>.

April 28. Finding it impossible to explore the middle route from Kalávryta to Patra without great risk, I am obliged once more to follow the road from *Ægium* to *Patræ*. At the Khan of Lambíri, where I halt for the night, a Tatár of Patra, travelling the same road, offers me, as a present, part of a lamb, which he had purchased on the road; soon afterwards he explains to me the cause of this civility. He was a Dehlí in the service of Mustafá Pashá, who was made prisoner by the French, at the landing at Abukír, and who died at Kairo. When the French drove the Turks into the sea, the Dehlí endeavoured with many others to save himself, by swimming on board Kadír Bey's ship; but his countrymen stood ready to cut him down, if he attempted to climb the ship's sides. He then

<sup>a</sup> τὸν δὲ Ἐρασῖνον καλοῦσι καὶ Ἀρσῖνον. Περὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁμῶς-  
νυμος ἐκ τῆς Ἀρχαδίας εἰς τὸν κα-

τὰ Βοῦρραν αἰγιαλόν. Strabo, p. 371.

swam to an English ship, where he was well treated, and was afterwards landed at Akka. I find that it was by the same Tatár's influence at Vostítza, that I was provided with a celebrated Bosniac horse for my journey, which has belonged, they say, for fifteen years to the menzilhane of Vostítza, and has been in constant work, seldom reposing more than a day at a time, and the oftener employed, as all persons travelling this road are well acquainted with his virtues.

It can hardly be doubted that the harbour of Lambíri is the ancient Erineus, where a naval action was fought in the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, B. C. 413, not long before the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily. There is no other harbour near the situation indicated by Pausanias<sup>a</sup>, that will answer to Erineus, and Lambíri accords perfectly with the circumstances related by Thucydides<sup>b</sup>. The Peloponnesian fleet, consisting chiefly of Corinthian ships, had for some time been stationed on the coast opposite to Naupactus, in observation of an inferior force of Athenians at that place, when the latter, having received a reinforcement under Conon, which made them more than equal to the enemy, these withdrew to Erineus, and were followed thither by the Athenians. The shore at Erineus formed a curve

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Achaic. c. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Thucyd. l. 7. c. 34.



within two promontories. The land forces of the Corinthians and their confederates were stationed on either promontory, and the ships formed a line between them. When the Athenians arrived, the security of the position caused a pause on both sides, but the Corinthians, at length thinking the moment favourable, advanced to the attack. Three of their ships were sunk, and the wrecks, drifting out to sea, were taken by the Athenians, seven of whose galleys were disabled by the superior strength of the Corinthian beaks. A trophy of victory was erected on both sides.

The road from Corinth to Patræ being direct, level, and free from obstacles, unless when violent rains swell the rivers and injure the roads, is one of the best in Greece for trying the rate of travelling. I have found it, with post-horses, both on the whole line and in detail, to be three geographical miles and a half, in direct distance, to an hour of time. This, therefore, is the rate that may be taken for the frequented post routes in Turkey, when the horses are good and there are no obstacles or retardations from hills, baggage, or bad roads; but with the ordinary roads and cattle of Greece it is certainly too great a rate. From 3 to 3·3 geographical miles, or from 30 to 33 stades, is a safer average in Greece for direct or short.

lines, even when there are no mountains: a further deduction, according to circumstances, is necessary on long, or indirect, or mountainous routes. The following numbers shew the difference of rate between the agoyatic horses and those of the menzil. From Patra to the khan of Lambíri, with the former, it took 310 minutes; with the latter, 255;—from Lambíri to Vostítza, with the former, 133; with the latter, 110. The proportions are exactly the same, and shew the uniformity of the rates: which are in a ratio of 6 to 5. Such calculations would not be worth making in a country in which geodæsic operations can be carried on according to rule; but in Turkey, where trigonometry can only be partially applied, they are useful auxiliaries to instrumental observations. I have found great advantage also in having constantly with me a horse, the walk of which I had exactly ascertained by measurement in the plains of Athens and Ioánnina.

From Patræ to Ægium, Pausanias furnishes us both with a *parapulus* and a route by land<sup>a</sup>. In the former, which he reckons 230 stades in length, he gives the distances of the several harbours along the coast; in the latter, which he makes 40 stades shorter than the line of na-

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. Achaic. c. 22, 23.

vigation, he notices the rivers and the ruins. “As you sail”, he says, “from Patræ to Ægium, the promontory Rhium first occurs, distant fifty stades from Patræ; then the port named Panormus, which is fifteen stades beyond the promontory. There is a like distance from Panormus to the place called the fortress of Minerva <sup>a</sup>, from thence to the port Erineus the distance by sea is ninety stades, and from Erineus to Ægium sixty stades. The road by land is forty stades shorter. Not far from the city of Patræ is the river Melichus, and the temple of Diana Triclaria, which has no longer any statue: it stands to the right of the road. Proceeding from thence, there occurs another river, named Charadrus, beyond which are some few remains of the city Argyra, the fountain Argyra on the right-hand side of the high road <sup>b</sup>, and the river Selemnus descending to the sea. Beyond Argyra is the river Bolinæus, upon which was formerly situated the city Bolina; farther on a promontory extends into the sea, called Drepanum; a little above the high road are the ruins of Rhypæ; Ægium is about thirty stades distant from Rhypæ; the river Phœnix flows to the sea through the country of Ægium, and another called Meganitas.”

<sup>a</sup> τὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καλούμενον τεῖχος.

<sup>b</sup> ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου.

In this passage, as in many others, Pausanias by a slight omission, that is to say, by failing to connect the paraplus with the land route, and by giving only a single distance in the latter, namely from Rhypæ to Ægium, has left the topography in such a state of doubt as can only be removed by an actual inspection of the places. Strabo, too, tends to mislead us by speaking of Rhium and Drepanum, as if they were one and the same promontory <sup>a</sup>. No one can doubt, that *Rhium*, which formed with *Antirrhium* the narrowest part of the strait, is the cape now occupied by the Moréa castle; nor is it less certain, that Drepanum is the low sandy point four miles to the eastward of the castle, which still preserves its ancient appellation. The name was often applied by the ancients to low sandy promontories, which, by the action of currents in the sea upon the deposits of rivers, assume the form of a δρέπανον, or sickle. Cape Dhrépano is exactly in that predicament, and Pausanias has correctly described its position as being at the mouth of the fourth river from Patræ in the way to Ægium.

Strabo makes the distance from Patræ to Rhium 40 stades, Pausanias 50: the difference is accounted for by the former having meant the

<sup>a</sup> Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν Ῥίον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀλιτενῆς ἄκρα δρεπανοειδῆ τινα ἐπιστροφὴν εἰς τὸ ἐντὺς ἔχου-

σα, καὶ δὴ καὶ καλεῖται Δρέπανον. Strabo, p. 335.

land route, and the latter the navigation, which he supposed, on the whole paraplus to Ægium, to have been 40 stades more than the road by land. His paraplus of 230 stades is nearly correct, its length on the map being 24 geographical miles, measured on a curved line parallel to the coast; but the length which he assigns to the road by land, 190 stades, is below the truth, the line, when measured with a distance of 3 geographical miles in the compasses, being 21 geographical miles, which, at  $10\frac{1}{2}$  stades to the geographical mile, amounts to 220. Indeed, it is obvious that, as the land route followed a curve nearly parallel to the paraplus, the difference between them could not have been so great as he makes it.

The places mentioned by Pausanias on the route by sea, beyond Rhium are, 1. Port Panormus, 15 stades from Rhium; 2. The wall or fortress of Minerva, 15 stades from Panormus; 3. Port Erineus, 90 stades from the wall of Minerva, and 60 stades from Ægium.

Panormus is well known in history as having been the scene of a naval battle between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war<sup>a</sup>. It is described as having been near the Achaic Rhium<sup>b</sup>, and over

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. l. 2. c. 86.

<sup>b</sup> Id. *ibid.*



against Naupactus<sup>a</sup>; a description which leaves no doubt of its being that curve of the coast between Cape Dhrépano and Kastéli, (the Moréa castle,) now called Tekiéh. The measurement of Pausanias is not incorrect when taken to the part nearest to Rhium.

If the fort of Minerva was a harbour, as we cannot but suspect from its being named in the Paraplus between two other harbours, it could have been no other than Psathópyrgo, that being the only harbour eastward of Cape *Drepanum* until we arrive at Lambíri; moreover, the respective distances of ninety stades and sixty stades, placed by Pausanias between the fort of Minerva, Erineus, and Ægium, confirm both the position of the *fort of Minerva* at Psathópyrgo and that of *Port Erineus* at Lambíri. The name of Psathópyrgo was derived from a tower which once existed at the harbour; it may have been the fortress of Minerva itself, or, perhaps, a building of later times erected upon the ancient foundations. The only objection to its being the ancient site in question is, that the fifteen stades of Pausanias, between Panormus and the fort of Minerva, is below the distance from Psathópyrgo even to the nearest part of the harbour of Tekiéh. But I have already remarked, that Pausanias is below the

<sup>a</sup> Polyb. l. 5. c. 102.

truth in his estimate of the land route: the chief part of the deficiency seems to have been between Rhium and the fort of Minerva.

The certainty as to Drepanum furnishes a fortunate adjustment for the places on the land route of Pausanias. It would otherwise have been difficult to understand, from his abrupt mention of Rhypæ immediately after Drepanum, that there was in truth a road-distance of fifteen miles between them. But Drepanum fixes the river Bolinæus, so called from the town Bolina, which once stood on its bank; and thus also we apply, without difficulty, the name of Selemnus, upon the bank of which (probably the left bank) stood Argyra, to the stream which joins the sea a little eastward of Rhium, and that of Charadrus to the torrents which unite and join the sea a little westward of the same point. There remains the river of Sykená nearer to Patra, corresponding precisely to the *Meilichus*.

Rhypæ, though not mentioned by Homer, was a very ancient city, and contributed to the foundation of Crotona in Italy, where another Achaian colony from Ægæ gave the name of the river Crathis to the stream which flows near Crotona<sup>a</sup>. I have already remarked, that

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, p. 386.—Pausan. Achaic. c. 25.

Rhypæ probably occupied a position on the banks of the river of Salmeníko. The arguments for this opinion are; 1st. That Greek cities were generally so situated, as well for the sake of the water as for defence, especially when they had the benefit of such torrents as that of Salmeníko, which is incased in precipitous banks and sometimes impassable. 2d. That of the three rivers which join the sea between Vostítza, or *Ægium*, and Lambíri, or *Erineus*, two, namely, the *Meganitas* and *Phænix*, were in the *Ægiatis*, between *Rhypæ* and *Ægium*. 3d. That the river of Salmeníko is not far from Port Lambíri, and *Erineus*, according to Thucydides, was in the district of *Rhypæ*<sup>a</sup>. The objection is, that Pausanias places *Rhypæ* at thirty stades from *Ægium*, or at about equal distances from *Ægium* and *Erineus*, whereas the river of Salmeníko is at two thirds of the route from Vostítza to Lambíri. It appears, however, from other instances, that the numbers of Pausanias on this coast will hardly bear so close an examination.

There still remains a difficult question in regard to one of the Achaian cities, and I have deferred it to this place, because the information regarding it being very scanty, it is only

<sup>a</sup> ἐν τῇ 'Ρυπικῇ, Thucyd. l. 7. c. 34.

from negative arguments that it can be placed with any degree of probability. We have seen that Polybius mentions a Leontium among the twelve cities of the Achaian league. It was the native place of Callicrates, whose treachery to his native country has been recorded by Pausanias as well as Polybius. Pausanias, however, does not say that Callicrates was of Leontium, nor can I discover that any author besides Polybius has named this Achaian city. That it was not on the coast may be presumed from the silence of Strabo, and still more from that of Pausanias, who has so particularly described the maritime country. We may infer then that it was an inland town, and consequently in the country situated to the southward or eastward of Mount *Panachaicum*, that being the only part in which Achaia was not confined to the vicinity of the coast. But in this district the inland part of the valley of the river Peirus, above Olenus, belonged to Pharæ, and that which lay near the sources of the Selinus, between the Pharæa and the Cynæthæa, confining on Arcadia, belonged to Tritæa; Leontium therefore, it should seem, occupied an intermediate part of the valley of the Selinus, between the Tritæis and the district of Ægium. This agrees exactly with the position of a place which is now called Ai Andhréa, from a ruined church of

that saint near the village of Guzúmistra <sup>a</sup>, and which is in or near the direct road from Kalávryta to Patra, at something less than half-way. If I am rightly informed, vestiges of an ancient city of considerable extent there occupy a height on the left bank of the river of Aio Vlasi, consequently about the middle of the course of the ancient Selinus. And this conjecture, as to the position of Leontium, receives some countenance from Polybius, who informs us, that in the Social War, Euripidas the Ætolian, at the head of 2000 Eleians and sixty cavalry, having marched from the Eleia through the territory of Pharæ, advanced to the vicinity of Ægium, where the Achaic council was then convened under Aratus; that after having ravaged the country he retired with a great plunder to Leontium, and that having been there attacked by the Achaians under Lycus of Pharæ he was defeated with a loss of 600 men <sup>b</sup>. These circumstances are well illustrated by placing *Leontium* near Guzúmistra.

<sup>a</sup> Γουζούμιστρα.

<sup>b</sup> Polyb. l. 5. c. 94.



# INDEX.

The Roman letters refer to the volumes ; the Arabic figures to the paging.

## A.

ABDUL Kerím, pyrgo of, i. 193.

*Abia* or *Abiæ*, once named *Ire*, i. 325. 330. 332. 453.

Abundance, temple of, iii. 295, 296.

ACHAIA, province of, ii. 94, 151 ; its western extremity, or Cape Araxus, 165 ; iii. 227. 382 ; rugged mountains overhang the maritime plains ; difficult and narrow passes, iii. 130 ; ancient history of, 196.

Achaean rocks, *Samus* built at the, i. 61 ; they are seen near Khai-  
affa, 66.

Achai, the, i. 163 ; expelled from Laconia and Argolis, iii. 197 ; their twelve cities, iii. 197.

*Achaia*, fountain thus named, i. 391.

Achaian league, the, ii. 33 ; the last years of Grecian independence, iii. 204.

*Achelous* river, i. 440, accumulation of earth at its mouth, ii. 148 ; iii. 233.

*Acheron* river, near *Pylus*, i. 59, the stream of this name mentioned by Strabo, 89.

Achilles, tomb of Las slain by him, i. 275.

—— towns offered to him by the Atridae, 329, 330. 452.

—— cenotaph of, ii. 221. 498.

—— temple of, iii. 14.

*Achilleus*, port of, i. 299. 301, now *Vathý*, 302.

*Acidas*, the river that flows to the Anigrus ; its fish, i. 64 ; its rise in Mount Smerna, 67, 68 ; the *Jordanus*, ii. 190.

*Acidon*, a stream identified with the river *Acidas*, i. 62. 68 ; ii. 190.

*Acragas*, temples of Juno and of Concord at, iii. 284.

*Acræa*, situation of ; opposite to the Heraeum of Argos, ii. 393.

*Acrephium*, inscription copied at, i. 5.

*Acriæ*, position of, i. 229—231.

Acribe, situation of, iii. 111.

*Acritas*, Cape, in the Gulf of Messenia, i. 279. 303, now called *Kavo Gallo*, 435. 443.

Acro-Corinthus, description of the modern fortress by Wheler, iii. 257, 258 ; it is commanded by a peaked hill, 259, 260.

Acropolis of Aliphera, ii. 77. 79.

—— Argos (*Larissa*) ii. 410

—— Arene, i. 60.

—— Asea, ii. 317.

—— Asopus, i. 226, 227.

—— the Acro Corinthus, iii. 236. 257.

—— Corone, i. 437.

—— Cynætha, ii. 112.

—— Cyparissæ, i. 69.

—— Elis, ii. 221. 225.

—— Epidaurus, i. 211, 212.

—— Geranthræ, iii. 6.

—— Gythium, i. 246.

—— Leuctra, i. 328.

—— Messene, i. 386. 392.

—— Mycenæ, ii. 368.

—— Pallantium, i. 118, 119.

—— Patræ, ii. 127. 131.

—— Pellene, iii. 216.

—— Pheneus, iii. 136. 140.

—— Phigaleia, i. 500 ; ii.

11.

—— Phlius, iii. 340.

—— Psophis, ii. 248.

- Acropolis of Sicyon, iii. 359.  
 ——— Sparta, i. 169. 173.  
 177. 466.  
 ——— Teuthis, ii. 63.  
 ——— Trœzen, ii. 443.  
*Aeroreia*, district of, ii. 203.  
*Aeroreii*, their towns named  
 Thraustus, Alium, Eupagium,  
 and Opus, ii. 202, 203.  
*Acrotatus* the Lacedæmonian de-  
 feated by Aristodemus, ii. 34.  
 ——— son of Areus, ii. 303.  
*Acte*, the Thracian, i. 301.  
*Actium*, sea-fight of, i. 95, 107.  
*Additional Note* to Chapter VIII.,  
 i. 332. ii. 466; also to Chapter  
 XXVIII., iii. 268.  
*Adonis*, lamented by the Argive  
 women, ii. 404.  
*Adrastus*, iii. 333.  
*Æacus*, ii. 440; the *Æaceium* at  
 Ægina, ii. 434; site of the build-  
 ing, 438.  
*Ædo*, statue of; [Modesty] iii. 14.  
*Ægaleum*, ridge of hills, i. 426, 427.  
*Ægæ*, iii. 138. 188; its site, 394,  
 395; the city, 406.  
*Ægæan*, islands of the, i. 189.  
 ——— seamen the best of the  
 Turkish fleet, ii. 345.  
*Ægeira*, city of Achaia, iii. 131.  
 142; its port at the Black Rocks,  
 387—392; city and harbour, iii.  
 406.  
*Ægeus*, heroum of, i. 167; sword  
 and slippers of, ii. 447.  
*Ægialeus*, district on the N. coast  
 of the Peloponnesus, iii. 196;  
 traditions regarding, 368.  
*Ægiæ*, or *Ægææ*, i. 247—249.  
*Ægidæ*, a Spartan tribe, i. 175. 178.  
*Ægila*, a city of Laconia, i. 278,  
 279. 466.  
*Ægilodes sinus*, i. 278.  
*Ægina*, city and celebrated island  
 of; description, ii. 431; silver  
 money of, 432; Æginetan fleet,  
 433; ancient description, 434;  
 harbour and walls, 436; the mo-  
 dern 'Eghina, 441.  
 ——— picturesque position of the  
 temple of, ii. 9. 466; iii. 262. 312.  
*Æginetan* school of sculpture, i.  
 122; ii. 434; statues by Callon,  
 445; fine specimen in England,  
 iii. 267.  
*Ægisthus*, place of sepulture of him  
 and of Clytemnestra, ii. 366.
- Ægium*, route and navigation from  
 Patræ to, iii. 412. *et seq.*; vicinity  
 of, 404.  
 ——— its site at Vostítza, iii.  
 187; statues and edifices of the  
 ancient city, 188. 190; council,  
 201.  
*Ægospotami*, spoils gained by Ly-  
 sander in the battle of, i. 46.  
 169; consequence of the victory,  
 471.  
*Ægyptian* artists, the, i. 370.  
*Ægyptus*, son of Belus, monument  
 of, ii. 130.  
*Ægytæ*, the, ii. 320; their territory,  
 and city *Ægys*, 322.  
*Ægys*, remains of, iii. 19.  
*Ænetus*, his death at Olympia, i.  
 146.  
*Æolic B*, a substitute for the di-  
 gamma, i. 330; the final A ap-  
 pertains to this dialect, 331.  
*Æpeia*, i. 453.  
*Æpeium*, or *Epeium*, ii. 206.  
*Æpium*, ii. 76.  
*Æpytus*, successor to Cresphontes,  
 i. 458.  
 ——— son of Elatus, his tomb,  
 iii. 116.  
*Æsculapius*, temple of, i. 72; sta-  
 tue, 96. 106; temples at Sparta,  
 164. 167. 172; statue at Epidau-  
 rus, 211; terrace of his temple,  
 212; his altars at the Lake of  
 Ino, 217; sacred well at Gythi-  
 um, 246. 251; temple on Mount  
 Ilium, 274; statue, 328; temple  
 at Pharæ, 345; and at Messenè,  
 369; the son of Arsinoë, 370;  
 temple of Pentelic marble at  
 Gortys, ii. 25. 290; at Aliphera,  
 79; at Patræ, 129; his ivory  
 statue, by Colotas, 174; his tem-  
 ple and statue in the Larissa of  
 Argos, 408, 409; his famous  
 temple at Sto Ieró, 417. 420;  
 iii. 233; temple at Titane, 354;  
 statue at Sicyon, 361; celebrated  
 Asclepieium on Mount Titane,  
 377.  
*Æsculapius*, his temples and sta-  
 tues under various local appel-  
 lations:—  
 ——— *Agnitas*, i. 165.  
 ——— *the Boy*, ii. 37. 102.  
 ——— *Causius*, ii. 251.  
 ——— *Cotyleus*, i. 182.  
 ——— *Gortynius*, 378.

- Æsculapius, *Philolaus*, i. 227.  
*Æpy*, the Homeric town of, ii. 206, 207.  
*Ætheum*, site of, i. 471, 472.  
 Æthidas, a chief of the Messenii, repulses Demetrius, i. 370. 393.  
*Aeti*, or pediments of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, i. 43; of the temple of Minerva Alea, 95.  
 Ætolians, under Pyrrhias, invade Messenia, i. 362; their campaigns, iii. 122. 126. 130.  
 Aetós, village of, i. 74.  
 Afidhia, signal-tower on the hill above this village, i. 228, 229.  
 Agamemnon, his statue at *Amyclæ*, i. 147; offers seven Messenian cities to Achilles, 329, 330. 452; his sepulchre, ii. 366. 465; iii. 190; transported Trojan captives to settle in Greece, 321.  
 Agaptus, Stoa of, i. 41.  
 Ageladas of Argos, i. 371; his statues of a youthful Jupiter, and a beardless Hercules, iii. 189.  
 Agelas of Naupactus, speech of, iii. 202.  
 Agesilaus, saying of King, i. 143; stratagem, 177; he leads the Spartans against Mantinea, iii. 32; Agesilaus and Teleuthias capture Corinth, 257. 315.  
 Agesilaus of Iusi, iii. 180.  
 Agesipolis, his expedition against the Mantinenses, i. 103; ii. 68, *et seq.*  
 Agias, Spartan prophet, i. 161.  
 Agidæ, sepulchres of the royal race of the, i. 165. 175. 176.  
 Agis, king of Sparta, expeditions of, i. 176. 484; ii. 196. 202. 415.  
 ——— son of Archidamus, iii. 58. 82.  
 ——— IV., son of Eudamidas, slain in battle at Mantinea, iii. 85; contradictory relations of his death, 86.  
*Agnitas*, Æsculapius,—statue made of the *agnus*, i. 165.  
*Agnus Castus*, the, i. 483; ii. 123; old tree of the Heræum of Samus, iii. 120.  
 Agóï, or vettura, derivation of the word, i. 49. 203.  
 Agonistæ at the Olympic Games, i. 35.  
 Agoræ of various cities:—  
 ——— Argos, ii. 404.  
 ——— Elis, ii. 220.  
 ——— Gythium, i. 246.  
 ——— Mantinea, i. 108.  
 ——— Megalopolis, ii. 34. 38.  
 ——— Patræ, ii. 128.  
 ——— Pharæ, ii. 158.  
 ——— Phlius, iii. 341.  
 ——— Sparta, i. 160. 172. 176.  
 ——— Tegea, i. 94.  
 Agrapídhō-khorí, ii. 230.  
 Agrídhī village, ii. 254.  
 ——— mountain of, and the peak opposite to it, ii. 274.  
 Agrió, harbour of, iii. 319; anchorage of, 380.  
 Agoyátes, or carriers, their mirth whilst travelling, i. 55.  
 Agoyatic horses, computation of distance by time, ii. 282.  
 Agrieléa, a village, i. 78.  
 Agrilovúni, torrent of, i. 481; village of, 483.  
 Agrió, anchorage of, iii. 380.  
 Agrotera, hill of, at Megalopolis, ii. 40.  
 Agulenítza, its fishery, i. 45; the Agá's pyrgo and vineyards at, 50; ferry, 51; the Lake of Agulenítza, 52; village on the site of *Epitalium*, or *Thryoessa*, 65.  
 Agulenítza, hill of, ii. 200.  
 Ahmēt Pashá causes the prosperity of Pyrgo, i. 45.  
 ——— Agá véivoda of Patræ, ii. 151.  
 Aiánni, or village of St. John, probable site of *Letrini*, i. 22; ii. 479. 483. 486.  
 ——— village near to Mistrá, i. 133; visit to Amús Agá, 189.  
 ——— near the Alpheius, probably the site of Heræa, ii. 91, 92.  
 Ai Andhréa, ruined church at, ii. 484. 497; iii. 419.  
 Ai Dhimítri, village in Exo-Mani, i. 320.  
 Ai Eliá, hill of, i. 128.  
 Ai Iríni, iii. 20.  
 Ai Isídhoro, i. 11.  
 Ai Nikóla, monastery of, iii. 24.  
 Ai Sídthoro, khan of, i. 55.  
 Ai Vlasi, kalývia, and stream named the Aivlasítiko, ii. 115, 116; village and plain of, iii. 184. 325.  
 Aiá, town and mountain of, i. 74.

- Aía Kyriakí, see Kyriakí.  
 Aía Marína, old church of, i. 285.  
 Aía Varvára, church of, i. 287 ;  
     village of, iii. 158, 159, 160.  
 Aidín, Mount, the highest summit  
     of Mænaliûm, ii. 52, 54.  
 'Aio Floro, fountains of, i. 357. 359.  
     388 ; dervéni-house and chapel,  
     477.  
 'Aio Konstantín, iii. 106.  
 'Aio Sosti, church of, i. 89 ; plain  
     of, 98—103 ; ii. 226. 328.  
 'Aio Sotíri, church of, at Kyparisso,  
     i. 291.  
 'Aion Oros, ridge named, iii. 325.  
     328.  
 'Aios Petros, i. 88 ; its governor,  
     100 ; the vilayeti, 124 ; ii.  
     284. 484.  
 Ais Agá, village of, i. 354.  
 Akhaíes, two villages near the sea,  
     and a salt-work, ii. 121. 155.  
 Akhladhó-kambo, ii. 337. 339. 346.  
     ——— plain of, ii. 329.  
     331. 334.  
 Akhúria, i. 90, 91.  
 Akhúria, the, a term signifying  
     hamlet, and nearly similar to  
     kalývia, ii. 252.  
 Akráta, Cape, iii. 212, 213.  
     ——— the river, iii. 212. 394.  
     407.  
     ——— ravine, iii. 172.  
     ——— bay of, iii. 386.  
     ——— plain of, iii. 391.  
     ——— khan of, iii. 394.  
 Alagonia, a city numbered among  
     the Eleuthero Lacones, i. 329.  
 Albania, muskets mounted in, i.  
     284. 348.  
 Albanian colonies in Ydhra and  
     Petza, ii. 345 ; peasants settled in  
     the Corinthia, iii. 263.  
 Albanians, the ; their occupation of  
     the Moréa, i. 204. 208 ; revenge-  
     ful spirit of, 239 ; pay of Alba-  
     nian soldiers, ii. 49 ; their settle-  
     ments, 53.  
 Albanoise, à l', costume, i. 210.  
 Alcamenes, works of this statuary,  
     i. 106.  
 Alcimus, i. 166.  
 Alcimedon, plain of ; the vale of  
     Kapsá, ii. 280, 281 ; iii. 48.  
     ——— hill of, iii. 95.  
 Aleman, i. 167. 178.  
 Alcmaeon, son of Amphiaraus, ii.  
     244.  
 Alcyonia, the lake, ii. 473.  
 Alecyonis, the sea, iii. 313. 315.  
 Alea, zerethra in the vale of, iii.  
     155.  
 Alea, temple of Minerva surnamed,  
     i. 96.  
 Aleisium, ancient town, ii. 182.  
     185.  
 Alesia, i. 182.  
 Alesium, Mount, i. 111 ; iii. 49.  
     62.  
 Alevétzova, village, i. 265.  
 Aleus, the house of, i. 94.  
 Alexander the Great, i. 247 ; ii.  
     36 ; iii. 163. 166.  
 Alexandra, or Cassandra, i. 328,  
     147.  
 Alexandria, patriarch of, i. 206.  
     ——— column of Diocletian  
     at, 293.  
 Alexanor, grandson of Æsculapius,  
     built the Asclepieium on Mount  
     Titane, iii. 377.  
 Alexicacus, an appellation of Apol-  
     lo, i. 492.  
 Ali Fermáki, of Lalla, ii. 71.  
 'Alíka, village of, i. 288 ; quarries,  
     289. 304. 308. 336 ; the ancient  
     Alycæa, ii. 45. 319.  
 Alikés, or salt-works of the Rufia,  
     i. 47.  
 Alikí, salt-work near Akhaíes, ii.  
     121.  
 Alíphera, called the Castle of Ne-  
     róvitzá, ii. 68. 72. 74 ; named  
     from Alípheros son of Lycaon,  
     75 ; its citadel, 77.  
 Alitúri, village of, i. 78. 482.  
 Allason, plan of Olympia by Mr.,  
     i. 42.  
 All Holy Virgin upon Khrepa,  
     monastery so named, i. 116.  
 All the Gods, temple at *Marius* in  
     Laconia of, iii. 7.  
 Aloe, the American, in flower, ii.  
     171.  
 Alonístena, spring of the Helisson  
     at, i. 116.  
     ——— mountain of Alonístena,  
     ii. 20. 274, 275.  
     ——— salubrity of this vil-  
     lage, 55.  
 ALPHEIUS, river, near Olympia,  
     i. 4 *et seq.* ; lagoon at its em-  
     bouchure, 22 ; called the Rúfæa,  
     25 ; ii. 95 ; flows between moun-  
     tains near Pisa, i. 24—26 ; Olym-  
     pic remains on its bank, 28—30 ;

- ferry, 49. 58. 62; plain of this river, 81; the upper Alpheius, 83. 116; sources, 122; subterraneous course, 123; eastern branch, 124; traverses the land of *Pylus*, 417. 421; vale, ii. 16—18; ravine at Lavdha, 19; upper plain, 20; lower plain, 20; tributary stream, 21; ford, 27; joined by the *Helisson*, 28; tributaries near Londári, 43; level towards its mouth, 67; river from Mount Vunúka, 82; the *Erymanthus* and the *Ladon* flow into it, 89, 90; river of Karitena, 95. 100; source of, 317; s. e. and s. w. sources, iii. 22, 23; course underground, 37; its n. sources, 141.
- Alpheius and Maro, monument of, i. 163.
- Allis*, at Olympia, skirmish in the, i. 29; temples, 35; the Pompeian entrance, 37.
- 'Alvena, mountain of, i. 55; otherwise Mount Vunúka, 56. 73; anciently *Minthe*, ii. 70; village of 'Alvena, 84.
- Alupokhóri, village, ii. 121.
- Alycæa*, or *Alcæa*, its site, ii. 45. 319.
- Alý Effendi of Tripolitza, ambassador at Paris, i. 36.
- Alý Pashá, ii. 274; iii. 186.
- Alysson*, spring, ii. 109.
- Alyssus, the fountain, iii. 180.
- Alý Tjelebý, pyrgo and village, ii. 166; iii. 178.
- Amathus*, near Cape Tænarum, i. 302; river, 422; ii. 85.
- Amazons, the, i. 275; sculptured, ii. 5; conquered by Theseus, ii. 448.
- Ambracia*, in Northern Greece, i. 445.
- Ambracian Gulf, the, i. 138.
- Ambrysus of Phocis, its fortifications, i. 368.
- Amilus*, village, iii. 105.
- Ammon, temple of, i. 170; hermaic statue of, ii. 36.
- Amphæia*, captured by the Lacedæmonians, i. 461, 462.
- Amphiaraus, i. 95. 162.
- Amphidoli*, town of, ii. 194.
- Amphigeneia*, Homeric town, i. 485; ii. 207.
- Amphilochus, i. 167.
- Amphitheatre at Corinth, iii. 244.
- Amphitrite, i. 169; iii. 290.
- Amphitus*, river, i. 390. 479. 481.
- Amús, a janissary, i. 474; iii. 18.
- Amús Agá, bey of Bardhúnia, dress and character, i. 189, 190; his influence, 265. 475; ii. 282.
- Amyclæ*, celebrated town, i. 115; site, 133; antiquities, 134; military events, 138. 183; Aia Kyriaki, 144; temple of Apollo, 145 *et seq.*; statue, 168; camp of the Thebans, 174; its colony at Mokhlí, ii. 336.
- , bishop of, ii. 336.
- ANAPLI, silk of, i. 131 197; ii. 142; history of *Nauplia*, 356; city on the slope of a table mountain, 357; Hellenic fortifications visible at the fortress, 358; hill Palamídhí, interesting name handed down by antiquity, 358; women esteemed to be handsome 360; Latin church, 360; r and anchorage, 361, 362.
- Anápli, Mills of, ii. 340. 469. 472.
- Anastásova, village, ii. 252; river of, 253.
- Anávoló, source; see *Deine*, ii. 480.
- Anavrytí, village, i. 265.
- Anaxandra, i. 168.
- Anazíri, village, i. 359.
- Anceus, sculpture of, i. 95.
- Anchionis, i. 165.
- Achises, sepulchre of him at the foot of the mountain Anchisia, iii. 96.
- Anchisia*, mountain, iii. 97.
- Andania*, the ancient, i. 362; its remains at Ellinikókastro, 388. 391. 455; river of, 481, 482; fortress, 467. 472. 479; pass of Andania, or of Makryplái, iii. 27.
- Andílalo, the name of the site of Olympia, i. 31, 32.
- Andonáki, Capt. of Longástra, i. 474.
- Andravídha, village of, i. 10; fragments of ancient architecture at, ii. 169.
- Andrew, St., festival of, ii. 136.
- Andriópulo, the bridge of, i. 57.
- Andrítzena, fine situation of, ii. 16; villages appertaining to it, 17. 324.
- Androcles and Antiochus, i. 460.
- Andromonásteró, village and monastery, i. 395.



- Andróni, ii. 235.  
 Andronicus, the emperor, i. 205, 206.  
 Andrússa, road to, i. 79, 80. 353 ; district of, 346, 347 ; town of, 359. 365 ; built on heights, 366.  
 Andrúvista, town and bishopric of, i. 261. 264. 315.  
 Anemosa, village, ii. 300.  
 Anemodhúri, village on Mount Tjímbarú, ii. 45. 91.  
 Angell and Harris, Messrs., their architectural researches, iii. 280.  
 Angheló-kastro, building of Frank construction, ii. 274.  
 Anias, river, iii. 145.  
 Anigræa, ancient road called the, ii. 477, 478. 481.  
 Anigrídes, cavern of the Nymphs, i. 61. 64.  
 Anigrus River, the Homeric *Minycius*, now called Mavro-potamó, i. 54. 59—61 ; the fish unfit to be eaten, 64 ; source in Mount *Lapithus*, or *Smerna*, 66, 67. 419.  
 Animals, wild, sacrificed to *Diana*, ii. 127.  
 Anino, Mount, ii. 232.  
 Antheia, i. 360. 453 ; ii. 126.  
 Anthene, or *Athene*, ruins of, ii. 473. 493, 494. 510.  
 Anthuse, a priestess, i. 188.  
 Antigoneia, or *Mantineia*, i. 106.  
 Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, i. 106. 142 ; ii. 526.  
 Antiochus, i. 370.  
 Antinous, games in honour of, iii. 49.  
 ———, a favourite of *Hadrian*, i. 105 ; his statues, 107.  
 Antiope, statue at *Sicyon*, iii. 362.  
 Antiquities and coins found at *Kutzopódhi*, ii. 388.  
 ———, discovery and examination of some, at *Phigaleia*, i. 498 ; at *Sinanú* and the vicinity, ii. 41, 42 ; at *Tripolitza*, 48 ; at *Klukines*, iii. 169.  
 Antirrhium, point of, ii. 148.  
 Antirrhium, iii. 414.  
 Antoninus Pius, temples and baths erected by, ii. 422, 423 ; iii. 235.  
 Antony, Mark, the *Tegeatæ* join his party, i. 95. 360. 364.  
 Apanokhóra, a quarter of *Andrítzēna*, ii. 17.  
 Apanokhrépa, the summit of *Mænalium*, i. 83 ; ii. 51.  
*Apelaurum*, position of, iii. 112 ; zerethra of Mount *Apelaurum*, 113. 134 ; Mountain, 225.  
*Apelaurus*, town of the *Stymphalia*, iii. 112.  
*Apesas*, Mount, iii. 325. 327 ; its gorges, 373.  
*Aphæa*, hymn by *Pindar* to ; named also *Dictynna*, and *Britomartis*, ii. 435.  
*Aphareus*, son of *Perieres*, i. 162. 370. 456.  
*Aphelæ*, a street of *Sparta*, i. 162. 171—173.  
*Aphrodite Hera*, i. 164.  
*Apókuro*, population decreased, ii. 152.  
*Apollo*, his delight in lofty mountains, i. 128 ; his sanctuary at *Epidelium*, 214.  
 ——— his great temple at *Bassæ*, i. 96 ; now called the Columns, ii. 1—12 ; his statue at *Patræ* described, 128 ; iii. 238. 240, 241. 248. 265, 266. 357. 359 ; great festival at *Sicyon*, 383 ; statue at *Ægeira*, 388.  
 ———, various temples, statues, and appellations :  
 ——— *Aeritas*, i. 162.  
 ——— *Agyieus*, i. 94.  
 ——— *Amazonius*, i. 275.  
 ——— *Amyclæus*, antique and rude statue described, i. 146. 168.  
 ——— *Aphelæus*, i. 163.  
 ——— *Argeus*, i. 442.  
 ——— *Carneius*, i. 165. 246. 327. 345. 391.  
 ———, the epithet of, ii. 296 ; iii. 361.  
 ——— *Cereatas*, ii. 294.  
 ——— *Clarius*, iii. 238.  
 ——— *Corynthus*, i. 441, 442 ; site of the *Coryntheium*, 446.  
 ——— *Deiradiotes*, ii. 410.  
 ——— the *Egyptian*, ii. 423.  
 ——— *Epibaterius*, ii. 445.  
 ——— *Epieurius*, i. 96. 492 ; ii. 1. 33. 37 ; iii. 247.  
 ——— *Latous*, iii. 307.  
 ——— *Lyceius*, temple at *Argos*, ii. 401 ; iii. 360.  
 ——— *Maleatas*, i. 162 ; temple on Mount *Cynortium*, ii. 417. 423.  
 ——— *Onciates*, ii. 102, 103.  
 ——— *Parrhasius*, ii. 310.  
 ——— *Pythæus*, i. 161.

- Apollo *Pythius*, temple, ii. 331 ;  
 iii. 137, 138.  
 ——— *Teneates*, iii. 320.  
 ——— *Thearius*, ii. 444.  
 ——— *Theoxenus*, iii. 218.  
 Apotropæi, statues of the gods  
 called, iii. 363.  
 Appanages of the Sultanas, ii. 23.  
 151.  
 Appius builds walls at Sparta, i. 179.  
 Aqueducts, of Neócastro, i. 398 ;  
 of Roman bricks at Patræ, ii.  
 137 ; at Corinth, iii. 243.  
*Arachnæum*, Mount, ii. 417, 418 ;  
 iii. 312.  
*Arachthya*, site, iii. 343 ; sources  
 at, 344.  
*Arainus*, i. 274.  
 Arákhova, village of, i. 124. 262,  
 339 ; peaked hill, ii. 232, 264 ;  
 iii. 42.  
 ———, the Stenúri of, iii. 29.  
 43.  
*Arantia*, named from Aras, its  
 founder, 344.  
*Arasma*, or the anchorage, i. 226.  
 Aratus, actions of, i. 138. 141 ; ii.  
 248 ; his victory at Mantinea,  
 iii. 85 ; loses the battle of *Ca-  
 phyæ*, 124. 201 ; surprises Co-  
 rinth, 254 ; his statue at Sicyon,  
 359 ; his heroic monument, 360.  
 362.  
 ——— the Younger, iii. 133.  
 Araxus, promontory, i. 7 ; ii. 153.  
*Arba*, ii. 126.  
 Arcadic league, after the battle of  
 Leuctra, iii. 32.  
 ARCADIA, coins of, i. 99 ; cities,  
 108. 118 ; valleys, 110. 120. 127.  
 360 ; mountains, 366. 368. 486 ;  
 ii. 9 ; climate, 20 ; decline of  
 Agriculture, 29, 30 ; sylvan val-  
 ley of Megalopolis, 31 ; journey  
 through, 94. 219.  
 ———, its geography, ii. 273.  
 ———, further description of  
 ancient and modern, ii. 286 *et  
 seq.* ; relation of military events,  
 iii. 44 *et seq.* ; residence of King  
 Evander at Pheneus, 152.  
 Arcadian mountain scenery, i. 489 ;  
 ii. 9. 30.  
 Arcadians, sepulchre of those who  
 fell at the battle in the Altis, i.  
 29 ; the common hearth of the  
 Arcadians, 94 ; modern shep-  
 herds, 487 ; the ethnic families  
 of the early, ii. 319 ; accus-  
 tomed to swear by the Styx on  
 important occasions, at the  
 springs of Nonacris, iii. 162. 168.  
 ———, council-chamber of the  
 Ten Thousand, ii. 36.  
 Archiroe, ii. 35.  
*Areadicus*, river, ii. 85.  
 Arcas, i. 94 ; tomb of, 106.  
 Arch, principle of the ; approxi-  
 mation to it in Hellenic masonry,  
 ii. 354 ; employment of it in  
 Grecian buildings, though not  
 in temples, 380.  
 Archidamus, King, defeated by  
 Demetrius Poliorcetes, iii. 84.  
 Archipelago, pirates of the, i. 309.  
 242.  
 Architecture, causes of the excel-  
 lence of the Grecian, ii. 7 ; iii.  
 332.  
 Archives, edifice at Megalopolis  
 called the, ii. 33.  
*Arene*, i. 60—65. 419. 456.  
 ARGEIA, territory of the city of  
*Argos*, i. 139 ; tour through the,  
 ii. 326 *et seq.* ; the route from  
 Argos to Mycenæ described, 364  
*et seq.* 469.  
 Arghyró-kastro, near Maghulianá,  
 ii. 274.  
 Argolic Gulf, the, iii. 208.  
 ——— Peninsula, i. 219 ; ancient  
 geography of the, ii. 364. 416 *et  
 seq.*  
 Argolic Plain, unhealthy from the  
 summer heat, iii. 337.  
*Argon*, the Plain, account of its  
 water-courses, ii. 480 ; iii. 54.  
 56. 63.  
 ARGOS, description of the city of,  
 i. 88. 101. 114. 126. 138. 142.  
 169. 247 ; ii. 23 ; the metropo-  
 litan church, 341 ; population,  
 347 ; the bishop of Anaplia and  
 Argos, 357 ; the Long Walls, 363 ;  
 site of the city, 394 ; the theatre,  
 396 ; the stadium, 398 ; aque-  
 duct, 399 ; the walls, 400 ; the  
 city of Phoroneus, 400 ; illustra-  
 tion of the ancient locality of  
 temples, &c., 401 *et seq.* ; the  
 Agora, 404 ; monuments and  
 temples of the Larissa, 408 ; the  
 city gates, 411 ; Argos, iii. 230.  
 232. 262. 305. 306.  
 ———, Mills of, ii. 347.  
 ———, plain of, ii. 338. 348.

- Argos, vilayeti of, ii. 347.  
*Argyra*, ii. 126; near the river  
*Selemnus*, 150.  
 ——— city and fountain, iii. 413.  
 Argyrókastro, plain of, i. 84.  
 Arion on the dolphin, a dedication,  
 i. 300.  
 Aris, river, i. 357. 360; marshes  
 of *Limnæ*, 365. 390. 454; sources,  
 477.  
 Aristandreium, a building at Me-  
 galopolis, ii. 34.  
 Aristandrus of Megalopolis, i. 146;  
 ii. 34.  
 Aristias, son of Pratinas, *satirist*,  
 iii. 341.  
 Aristocles and Hipponoidas banish-  
 ed Sparta, iii. 65.  
 Aristocrates, treachery of, i. 467;  
 his death, 468; he was the last  
 of the race of Cypselus, ii. 321;  
 tomb, iii. 104.  
 Aristodemus, a king of Messenia,  
 who slew himself after a victory,  
 i. 465; a chief of Megalopolis,  
 ii. 34. 37.  
 ——— the Good, tyrant of  
 Arcadia, ii. 299. 303.  
 Aristomeneian war, the, i. 465.  
 467.  
 Aristomenes, i. 371. 465. 467.  
 Aristonautæ, haven of the Pelle-  
 nenses, iii. 217; remains of, iii.  
 384. 390.  
 Aristophanes, i. 63.  
 Aristotle, opinions of, i. 181; ii.  
 114.  
 Arkadhía, road to, i. 23. 49;  
 plain of, 58; the town and cas-  
 tle, 69; the skala and exports,  
 70; river, 73; the bishopric of  
 Arkadhía or Christianopolis, 75;  
 the Paraskeví, a summit above  
 the town, 77; Paleá Arkadhía,  
 81, 82; hills, 357. 359; i. 372.  
 484.  
 ——— mountain of, 426.  
 ——— cape of, 428.  
 ——— the town seen from  
 Mount *Cotylion*, ii. 12.  
 Arnatolí, employed to suppress  
 robbers, ii. 55; comparison with  
 the system of King Alfred, 106.  
 Armeniá, Mount, ii. 275. 277. 279;  
 iii. 96, 97, 98, 99. 106. 225.  
 Army of Egypt, English, ii. 145.  
 Armyró, named from a salt water  
 river, i. 325. 331. 348.  
 Arna, river and village of, i. 260.  
 264.  
 Arnaút Oglú, a land proprietor in  
 the Moréa, ii. 49; his pyrgo or  
 tower, 94, 269.  
*Arne*, fountain, iii. 48. 54.  
 Aroanian mountains, the, or Mount  
 Khelmos, ii. 265.  
*Aroanius*, river, three of the name  
 in Arcadia, ii. 210. 241, *et seqq.*;  
 sources, 252; ii. 263; iii. 136.  
*Aroe*, disquisition on this name, ii.  
 126.  
 Arrachion, his death at Olympia,  
 i. 491.  
 Arsinoe, the fountain, i. 368.  
 ——— temple of, i. 162. 370.  
*Artemisium*, range of, i. 99. 101.  
 109. 111; the modern Turníki,  
 112, 127.  
 ——— Mount, torrents from,  
 ii. 335; iii. 47.  
 ——— in the plains of Cœle  
 Elis, ii. 186.  
 Artemidorus, i. 214.  
 Artemisia, i. 161.  
 Artists of Sparta, i. 159; of Nau-  
 pactus, ii. 127.  
*Asea*, river of, iii. 42, 43.  
 Asclepian Games, at Epidaurus, ii.  
 428.  
 Asclepieium, or temple of Æscula-  
 pius, at *Abia*, i. 330; account of  
 an, iii. 361. 377; at *Sparta*, i.  
 172; at *Gortys*, ii. 26.  
*Asea*, remains of, i. 84; plain and  
 site of, 121. 123; ii. 46; valley,  
 47; the ruins, 317; celebrated  
 fountains of the Alpheius and  
 Eurotas, iii. 36. 38.  
*Asæa*, the, i. 122.  
 Asinæi, the, i. 442.  
 Asia, Mount, on which stood the  
 city of *Las*, i. 273. 276.  
 Asimáki of Kalávryta, oppressions  
 of, ii. 255. 283.  
 Asimíni, in Bardhúnia, i. 265.  
 Asine, town of, i. 279. 139; timber  
 of the neighbouring hills, 435.  
 442; ii. 463.  
 Aslán Agá, a Greek village, i.  
 358.  
 Asómato, kalyvia, and district so  
 called, i. 296; the dilapidated  
 church, 297; headland near it,  
 299.  
*Asopia*, district of the Sicyonia, iii.  
 355.

- Asopus*, vestiges of this town are found at Blitra, i. 226. 230.  
 — descriptions of this river, iii. 227. 350. 455, 456; its sources at the foot of Mount Gavia, 343.  
 — son of Ceglusa, iii. 344.  
*Asprókhoma*, i. 353. 351.  
*Asterion*, the river: it is the name of a herb, ii. 392.  
*Astrá*, summit near the town of Dhívri, ii. 116. 229. 235. 237. 254.  
*Astrabacus*, i. 168.  
*Astrateia*, Diana surnamed, i. 275.  
*Astró*, bay of, ii. 477. 481; the skala, 482; promontory of, 484.  
*Atalante*, sculptured in a pediment, i. 95.  
*Athanasius* the miraculous, Doric columns in the church of Saint, ii. 99.  
 — monastery of St. ii. 260.  
*Athenæum*, plain of Asea at, ii. 318.  
*Athens*, walls of, i. 87; octastyle temple at, 97; the Cerameicus, 108; scene of the theatre, 155, 156; remark of Thucydides, 160; the Colyttus, 176; the Propylæa, 375; iii. 229. 303.  
 — the temple of Minerva Polias, ii. 5.  
*Athenians*, the, i. 369. 371. 401. 492; defeated in Ægina, ii. 439; rebuild the long walls of Corinth, iii. 256.  
*Athos*, Mount, i. 301.  
*Atjá*, a village, one of the Pendáha, i. 285. 311.  
*Atlantides*, the, i. 60.  
*Atreus*, his treasury at Mycenæ, ii. 385.  
*Attalus*, colossal statue of the king, iii. 361.  
*Attica*, etymology of the word, i. 210, 301; ii. 14.  
*Atzídhes*, ii. 227, 228. 231.  
*Atzikolo*, valley and river of, ii. 22, 23; village of Atzikolo, and ancient Arcadian town (*Gortys*), 24.  
 — the river, 292.  
*Avaríno*, Paleó, castle of, i. 398; peninsula of, 401. 411. 424.  
*Avarisi*, a tax on chattels, i. 132.  
*Avgherinó*, George, called Kyr Ghi-orgáki, i. 23.  
*Avgó*, Cape, iii. 191. 212. 213. 386.  
*Aulon*, heroum of, i. 163.  
 — a pass of Messenia, i. 470. 484.  
 — pass of the Alpheius, near Karítēna, ii. 19, 20.  
 — near Nezerá, 121.  
*Auge*, the fountain, i. 93.  
*Augeias*, king of the Epeii, i. 7; ii. 199.  
*Augeiæ*, i. 247.  
*Augustus*, the emperor, i. 95. 161. 246. 277. 329. 360. 363; ii. 124.  
*Aurelius*, dedications to, i. 293.  
*Auriga*, the constellation, ii. 445.  
*Autonoe*, i. 107.  
*Azanes*, the, an Arcadian tribe, ii. 324.
- ## B.
- BABAKA*, village of, i. 180. 285. 311. 336.  
*Babas*, pyrgo and tjiftlik, i. 191.  
*Babióti*, monastery of, ii. 123.  
*Babyca*, the, at Sparta, i. 181.  
*Babylon*, i. 383.  
*Bacchiadæ* and *Eetionidæ*, ruling families at Corinth, iii. 230.  
*Bacchus*, his temples at Tegea, i. 94; at Rome, 96; Bacchus as a child, 161; at Bryseæ, 188; festival on Mount *Larysium*, 247. 254; on Mount *Ilíum*, 274; orgies of Bacchus, ii. 75; worship of him at Elis, 225. 498; his temple at Bryseæ, iii. 3; orgies, 46. 295, 296; splendid statues of this god at Sicyon, 356.  
*Bacchus*, *Acratophorus*, i. 490.  
 — *Æsymnetes*, ii. 129.  
 — *Avites*, ii. 75.  
 — *Baccheius*, iii. 237. 359.  
 — *Calydonius*, and the Dionysiac festival at Patræ, ii. 129.  
 — *Colonatas*, temple, i. 163. 171.  
 — *Cresius*, ii. 409.  
 — *Lampter*, iii. 218.  
 — *Leucyanitas*, iii. 208.  
 — *Lysius*, iii. 237, 359.  
 — *Polites*, ii. 75.  
 — *Saotes*, ii. 444. 471.  
*Bagdád*, i. 220.  
*Balyra* river, the Vasilikó, i. 390. 479, 480. 482.  
*Bánitza*, or *Pánitza*, village, i. 267.



- Bánitza, the river, ii. 349; near Argos, 364.
- Barbel, *fish*, ii. 101.
- Barbítza, the river of, [*Alpheius*,] ii. 28.
- tjiťlik of, site of a Paleókhora, iii. 24. 31. 33. 40. 43.
- Barbópulo of Tripolitzá, i. 87.
- Barbosthenes, Mount, i. 179.
- Bardhúnia, a division of the Moréa, i. 128; Albanian colony of, 130. 264; produce and exports, 242; adjoining to Mani, 262. 265.
- Barnes, his admission of a verse as Homer's, i. 420. 422.
- Barriers* at Sparta, i. 162.
- Barseniko, village, i. 128. 265; cultivated terraces of, iii. 2.
- Barthélemi's Anacharsis, i. 176. 178.
- Bash, zevgaláti, iii. 114.
- Basilis* founded by Cypselus, ii. 291; the royal residence and capital of Arcadia, ii. 321.
- Bassæ, temple of, i. 96. 492; the ruins have the local appellation of the Columnus, ii. 1—9; the glen of Bassæ, 11; belonged to the Phigalenses, 12.
- Bathos*, ii. 28.
- ceremony of the great goddesses at this place, ii. 291.
- Bathycles, i. 147.
- Bathyllus*, a spring which flowed to the *Helisson*, ii. 36.
- Bay tree of the Syrians, the, iii. 120.
- Bazeníko, village of, ii. 275; iii. 103. 118. 120.
- — pass of, ii. 276.
- Bear, the, ii. 233, 234. 250; in Mount Taygetum, iii. 3.
- Bedaat, duty upon exports, i. 46; ii. 141.
- Bedéni, hamlet of, ii. 282; iii. 103.
- Beglerbéğ and Mirmirán, explanation of the Turkish distinctions, ii. 359.
- Bekír Efféndi, i. 3. 241.
- Bey, landholder in the Moréa, ii. 49.
- Beláli, khan of, iii. 95—98.
- Belemina*, situation of, ii. 298; its perennial fountains, iii. 15. 16. 19; its remains, 20; the Hermaeum at the boundary of Laconia, 22; Mount Belemina, 27.
- Belesh, on the bank of the Ladori, ii. 94. 399.
- Bélishi, Kato, village of, iii. 53.
- Bellerophon and Pegasus, iii. 234. 239. 249. 291.
- Benakhi, a rich Greek, whose mansion at Kalamata was destroyed in 1770, i. 326.
- Berenthe* city, and the river Berentheates, ii. 290. 292.
- Beylik, or Dhimosiá, the high road, ii. 329.
- Bey-Zaade, Peter, son of Tzanet-Bey, i. 318.
- Beziané, village of, i. 194. 200. 202. 222. 228; hill of Beziané, ii. 70. 518.
- Bias, river, i. 440. 471.
- Birbáti, village, ii. 47; iii. 35.
- Bird's Fountain, the, on Mount Khelmós, iii. 169.
- Biskíni, i. 53.
- Bíssia, situation of, iii. 315.
- Bithyneium*, a colony from Mantineia, i. 105.
- Biton carrying a bull, statue of, ii. 402.
- Bizande, Petro, a Maniate of influence, i. 237.
- Bizbárdhi, village on a hill, ii. 90.
- Black Sea, the, i. 242.
- Blitra, or *Asopus*, ruins, i. 225. 226.
- Boars, wild, ii. 87. 215. 216. 233.
- Boats of Greece described, i. 449.
- Bocage, M. Barbié du, i. 41.
- Bœatice*, the, i. 214.
- Bœæ*, town of, i. 139. 195. 215. 226.
- Boeck, M., opinion of, i. 9.
- Bogház, the, a plain of Messenia, i. 482, 483.
- Bokhúsia, the river, iii. 212. 183. 184. 403. 407.
- Bolax*, a town of *Triphylia*, ii. 77; now Volántza, 207.
- Bolíana, i. 265.
- Bolina*, site of, iii. 195; city near the river *Bolinæus*, iii. 413. 417.
- Boline*, near to *Patra*, ii. 126.
- Bolúk-bashi, an Albanian, i. 342.
- Bonaparte, tradition respecting the family of, i. 314. 451.
- Books of the monastery of Megaspílio, iii. 177.
- Boralí, Ano, i. 310.



Bordhónia, village near Mistrá,  
i. 125; iii. 17.

Boreas, sacrifice to the wind, ii.  
303.

*Boreium*, Mount, now Krávári,  
i. 84. 99, 100. 120; ii. 47. 328.

————— vestiges of a  
temple dedicated by Ulysses, on  
his return from Troy, ii. 317;  
iii. 34.

Bótia, a village of Messenia, i. 77.

Botza, a measure containing twenty  
okes, i. 131.

Bótzika, village, iii. 343. 345.

Bozá, inscribed marble in the  
church of, i. 225.

Braccio di Maina, i. 308.

Brasidas, cenotaph of, i. 164. 170;  
his defeat by Demosthenes, 414.

Briareus settled the contention be-  
tween Neptune and Apollo, for  
the Isthmus and for Corinth,  
iii. 248. 289.

Bridge, simple, on the Katzánes  
river, ii. 263.

Britza, Apano, i. 265.

Brown, Captain, danger of his ship  
near Pyrgos, i. 315.

Bruna kalyvia, or huts, i. 24.

*Bryseæ*, i. 187, 188; position of,  
iii. 2; mysteries of Bacchus, 3;  
ancient site, 4.

Buga, village of, i. 387.

————— snowy summit of, ii. 335.

Bukhióti, village, ii. 219.

Bunus, son of Mercury, iii. 241.

*Buphagium* at the sources of the  
*Buphagus*, ii. 67. 92. 289.

————— site of the town, ii.  
67. 92.

*Buphagus*, river, ii. 67. 92.

*Buphia*, position of, iii. 376.

Buphras, mountain near Pylus, i.  
416.

*Buprasium*, chief city of the Epeii,  
i. 7; ii. 182, 183.

*Bura*, plain of, iii. 131.

————— destroyed by an earthquake,  
iii. 154. 399. *et seq.*

*Buraicus*, the river, iii. 405. 408.

Bútia, village of, ii. 277.

Butter of Gastúni, i. 17; of Ai  
Vlasi, ii. 117.

Buyáti, village, iii. 107.

Buzi, river at, i. 57; village of,  
57. 73; ii. 484, 485.

Byzantium, ancient fortifications  
of, i. 368.

## C.

*CACTUS*, the plant, ii. 362.

Cadena, Porto, i. 219, 220.

*Cadmeia*, i. 169.

Cadmus, i. 167.

Cælianus, Tiberius Claudius Æthi-  
das, inscription relating to him,  
i. 384.

*Cænepolis*, or *Tænarum*, i. 291.  
293. 300. 302.

Cæsar's, C. J., Gardens. i. 96; his  
temple at Sparta, 161. 363; re-  
storation of Corinth and Car-  
thage by, iii. 231.

Cagaco, the fountain, i. 274. 276.

Caicus, plain of the, i. 95.

*Calamæ*, an inland town, i. 360;  
resemblance to the name Kala-  
máta, 361; village of Kalámi,  
362.

*Calathium*, a mountain with a tem-  
ple and cavern, i. 329.

*Calaureia*, island of, ii. 442. 450;  
town of, 451.

Callicrates, conduct of, iii. 203, 204.  
419.

Callimachus, the supposed inventor  
of the Ionic order, ii. 5.

Callistephanus, the olive tree  
named, i. 38.

Callisto, tomb of, an artificial hill,  
ii. 300.

Callon of Ægina, i. 146.

Calydon, teeth of the boar of, i. 95.  
369.

Calydon, spoils of, ii. 127.

Canachus of Sicyon, sculptor, iii.  
362.

Canathus, the spring, ii. 357. 360.

Candia, island of, i. 242.

Cannon, English brass ordnance  
at the castle of the Moréa, ii. 149.

*Caphareus*, i. 413.

*Caphyæ*, road to, ii. 249; remains  
of this town at Khotúsa, 275;  
the walls, iii. 103; the battle of  
*Caphyæ*, 104. 122, *et seq.*

Caphyatic rock in the pass of Glóza,  
iii. 113.

*Caprusema*, in the plain of Steny-  
clerus, i. 467.

Capitán Pashá, i. 86. 317. 236. 218.

*Cardamyle*, a town subject to  
Sparta, i. 329; site designated  
by the name Skardhamúla, 331.  
453.

- Carnasium*, the grove, i. 391. 481 ;  
ii. 295, 296.
- Carneates, the hill, iii. 344, 345.
- Carneium, temple of Apollo Car-  
neius, i. 274. 329 ; statue, 391.  
*See Apollo.*
- Carnion*, the sources of the, ii. 294.
- Carnival, festivities during the, ii.  
169.
- Caryæ*, its site at Gióza, iii. 30.  
106. 135.
- Carystus*, celebrated for its wine,  
ii. 323.
- Cascade of the Styx, called Mavra-  
néria, iii. 167, 168.
- Cassandra of Troy, i. 328 ; her  
monument, ii. 366.
- Castor, sculpture of, i. 95 ; he  
founded the temple of Minerva  
Asia, i. 162, 163. 273.
- Castorides, i. 246.
- Catacomb of the Epidaurii, i. 216 ;  
catacombs at Kalávryta, ii. 112.
- Cathari, or the Pure, deities nam-  
ed, i. 118.
- Cavern, lofty, beneath the rocks  
of Mount Chaon, ii. 340.
- Caucon, monument of, i. 60 ;  
stream of this name, ii. 158.
- Caucones, the, i. 60.
- Caucones-Pylai, i. 67.
- Caus*, the town, and temple of  
Æsculapius, ii. 251.
- Celeæ*, mysteries of Ceres cele-  
brated at, iii. 345, 346 ; site of,  
353.
- Celenderis*, fortress, ii. 449.
- Celosse*, Mount, iii. 344.
- Cenchreæ*, village, ii. 342, 343.
- Cenchreïæ*, iii. 232—237 ; import-  
ance of the pass of, 255.
- sea of, iii. 299.
- Cenchrias, iii. 233.
- Cenerium*, near Cyparissia, i. 426,  
427.
- Centaurs on the frieze of the temple  
of Apollo Epicurius, ii. 5.
- Cepheus, son of Aleus, tradition,  
iii. 119.
- Cephisodorus, distinguished in the  
battle of Mantinea, i. 108.
- Cephisodotus, Athenian sculptor,  
ii. 34.
- Cephius, temple of, at Argos, ii.  
405.
- Cerameicus*, the, i. 108.
- Cerausium*, mountain, i. 491 ; ii.  
10. 13. 313.
- Cerberus, grotto from which Her-  
cules dragged, i. 298, 301.
- Ceres, grove of, i. 59 ; on Mount  
Alesium, 111. 119. 292 ; temples  
of, 94. 106. 246 ; at Tænarum,  
300 ; at Messene, 369 ; the great  
goddesses Ceres and Proserpine,  
ii. 34, 35 ; temple at Patræ, the  
well at which the sick offered up  
prayers, 130 ; colossal sculpture  
of Ceres and Despœna, 308 ;  
temple near Nestane, iii. 47. 295,  
296. 364. 457. 471.
- *Chthonia*, i. 165 ; ii. 459.
- in the Corythenses, temple,  
ii. 331.
- *Eleusinia*, i. 183 ; ii. 101.  
271 ; the Eleusinium of Mount  
Taygetum, iii. 3. 5. 137 ; statue,  
170.
- in Helos, sacred grove, ii.  
303.
- *Lusia*, ii. 102.
- in Onceium, temple, (of  
Erinnyes,) ii. 101.
- *Panachaia*, iii. 189.
- *Pelasgis*, ii. 406.
- *Prostasia*, mysteries of, iii.  
352.
- *Thesmia*, iii. 137.
- *Thesmophorus*, ii. 447.
- Cerigo, island of, i. 194. 254. 268.  
310.
- Ceryneia*, extant walls of, iii. 184 ;  
site of, 403. 405.
- Cerynites*, river, iii. 403. 407.
- Chæroneia*, battle of, iii. 199.
- Chalcis*, river, i. 58. 66 ; town of,  
59. 65. 420 ; ii. 206.
- Chalcocondylas, references to the  
Byzantine historian, i. 425 ; ii.  
44. 173. 275.
- Champlite, family of, i. 10.
- Chandler's account of the temple  
of Venus Catasopia, ii. 446.
- Dr., quoted, ii. 452 ; iii.  
289. 299. 310.
- Chaon*, Mount, sources of the Era-  
sinus, ii. 340. 342.
- Charadra*, i. 345.
- Charadrus*, the river, i. 391. 463.  
481.
- stream near Argos,  
ancient custom related, ii. 364.  
394.
- Cheese, export of, i. 46. 309 ; ex-  
ported by the Adriatic ships, iii.  
115.

- Cheimarrhus*, river, ii. 338.  
*Cheirosofhus*, sculptor, i. 94.  
*Chelonatas*, cape, i. 7. 62; or *Glarántza*, ii. 175.  
*Chelydorea*, mountain, iii. 139. 220. 221.  
*Chersonesus*, peninsula near *Corinth*, iii. 309. 310.  
 ——— battle of, iii. 310.  
*Chiton*, i. 168.  
*Chærius*, the valley, i. 330. 332.  
*Choma*, on Mount *Boreium*, i. 120.  
 ——— or the *Dyke*, ii. 316. 318; iii. 35.  
*Christianopolis*, the see of *Arkadhía*, or, i. 10.  
*Chrysis*, the priestess, ii. 391.  
*Cicero*, reckoned three *Æsculapii*, ii. 26.  
*Circus* of *Lacedæmon*, i. 156. 176. 185; ii. 533.  
*Cissa*, the fountain, ii. 281.  
*Cisterns*, ancient bottle-shaped, ii. 146.  
*Cladeus*, a river flowing by *Olympia*, i. 25. 29. 30. 32. 40.  
*Clarium*, castle of the *Megalopolitis*, ii. 323.  
*Cleisthenes* of *Sicyon*, iii. 360.  
*Cleitor*, its walls on the heights above the *Klitóra* river, ii. 257.  
 ——— illustration of the walls, ii. 258; its edifices, 260.  
*Cleomenes*, king of *Lacedæmon*, i. 142. 219; plunders *Megalopolis*, ii. 29; captures the citadel of *Argos*, ii. 410. 411. 493. 526; after the taking of *Sparta* he flies into *Egypt*, iii. 122. 161. 311.  
*Clepsydra*, at *Messene*, the fountain, or *Water of Secrecy*, i. 367, 368. 371. 386.  
*Cleon*, house of King, iii. 360.  
*Cleonæ*, river of, iii. 324.  
 ——— Hellenic foundations of, iii. 325 *et seq.*  
*Cleonymus*, i. 219.  
*Climate* of the maritime plains contrasted with that of the *Arcadian hills*, ii. 15. 20; *Kalávryta* very unhealthy, 111; cold of mountains injurious to people living on the coasts beneath them, 142; fogs and chilly air of *Arcadia*, iii. 24.  
*Climax*, the road called, ii. 413; iii. 46. 52.  
*Clitor*, valley of, ii. 109.
- Club* of *Hercules*, wild olive the regermination of the, ii. 444.  
*Clytæmnestra*, statue of, i. 147.  
*Cnacalus*, Mountain, festival of *Diana* on the, ii. 119; the hill of *Kastaniá*, 122.  
*Cnacadium*, the hill, i. 274. 276.  
*Cnacion* at *Sparta*, the, i. 180. 181. 276; iii. 12.  
*Cnageus*, i. 170.  
*Coccus* of the *prinári* oak trees in the *Moréa* yielding a crimson dye, i. 250.  
*Cockerell*, Mr., his account of the temple at *Olympia*, i. 27; discovery of a frieze at *Bassæ*, ii. 5. 467.  
*Cæus*, votive helmet inscribed with the name, i. 47. 48. 82.  
 ——— river, i. 391; at the *Dervéni* of *Kokhla*, 392. 482.  
*Coins*, ancient, of *Patræ*, ii. 126. 146; purchased at *Barbítza*, iii. 31; of *Stymphalus*, 113; of *Lacedæmon*, 239; of *Sicyon*, 378.  
*Colænus*, colony led by, i. 442.  
*Colchi*, their worship of *Minerva Asia*, i. 182. 274.  
*Colona*, at *Sparta*, i. 163. 171.  
*Colonides*, near *Corone*, i. 442. 445.  
*Colonies*, Roman, *Nicopolis* and *Patræ*, ii. 124.  
*Columns*, interesting ancient, i. 293. 488; fine cylinder of a column on Mount *Cotylium*, ii. 2; extant columns at the castle of *St. Helene*, 18; of the *Agora* of *Megalopolis*, 38; at a well near *Tripolitza*, 47; at *Levidhi*, 278; column of the *Heræum*, 387; beautiful *Doric* at *Ægina*, 435; unusual *Doric* profile, iii. 101.  
*Combe*, Mr. Taylor, his illustrations of marbles and antiquities, ii. 5.  
*Common Hearth* of the *Arcadians*, i. 94; monument called the *Common Hearth*, 107.  
*Comnenus*, *Andronicus*, i. 205.  
*Conon*, achievement of the *Athenian* commander, iii. 410.  
*Constantine*, emperor, i. 199. 235.  
*Constantinople*, i. 10. 14. 86. 126. 131. 133. 220. 242. 317. 341. 347.  
*Contoporeia*, foot-road to *Argos* from *Corinth*, iii. 328.

- Copais* in Bœotia, Lake, iii. 148.  
*Coracinnasus*, or Island of Crows, in the *Ladon* river, ii. 90. 102.  
 Core, or Proserpine, ii. 34, 35.  
 Corfú, ii. 274.  
 CORINTH, i. 138. 142. 176. 224. 341; its unhealthiness, ii. 142; Roman colony established by Julius Cæsar, iii. 188; arrival at the city, 228; its ports, ancient monuments, and long walls; comparison of the accounts by ancient and modern travellers, and its actual state, 229—237; existing remains of the Roman edifices, 244; ruins of the Grecian buildings, 245; the Long Walls of Corinth, 251—254; their demolition, 256; great height of the city walls, 253; modern pronunciation of the name Korintho [Gortho], 262; strength of the position of Corinth, 302. 322; reflections on the power and influence of the ancient city, 322.  
 ——— Gulf of, ii. 348.  
 CORINTHIA, the, iii. 229; remarks on the subordinate positions of, 305.  
 Corinthiac gulf, great beauty of its scenery and diversified coast, iii. 313. 397.  
 Corinthian coast, topography of the, iii. 308.  
 ——— Gulf, prospect of the, iii. 183; fine harbours of the N. coast, 186.  
 ——— war, attack on Corinth by Praxitas and the Lacedæmonians, iii. 252 *et seq.*  
 Corinthians, battles in which they participated, iii. 309.  
 Cork trees, iii. 52.  
 Corn, export of, i. 34. 46, 47; season of sowing in Mani, 322.  
 Coræbus, epigram on the tomb of, ii. 75.  
 Corone, position of the ancient town, i. 439, 440.  
 Coronelli's observations on Greece, i. 130. 210. 307. 324.  
 Coronis, statue and worship of, iii. 378.  
 Corsica, emigration from Vitylo to, i. 314.  
*Coryphasium*, promontory and fortress adjacent to the island Spha-
- gia, i. 62. 411; description, 413. 424.  
*Coryphæum*, mountain, ii. 425.  
 Corythenses, the, ii. 333, 334.  
 Cos, island of, i. 48; delightful climate of, ii. 429.  
 Cotton, cultivation of, i. 15.  
*Cotylum*, Mount, i. 492; fragments of the temple of Apollo Epicurius seen on the hill, ii. 1, *et seq.*; a branch of the Lycæan range, 10; named from *Cotylum*, near *Phigaleia*, 13; spring on, 16.  
*Cotylum*, a castle appertaining to the *Phigalenses*, ii. 12; its site may be determined by the discovery of a temple of Venus, 13; i. 493.  
 Council-chamber at Megalopolis, ii. 36.  
 ——— house at Olympia, i. 34.  
 Craneæ, island, i. 247.  
*Craneium*, at Corinth, i. 176.  
 Cranes, carriers of smaller birds, ii. 50.  
*Crathis*, Mount, iii. 138; the hill of Zarúkhla, 150. 157.  
 ——— sources of the river, iii. 138; river below Klukínes, 157; ravine of the Akráta, 172; river, 394; its sources near Ægæ, 406, 407.  
*Cresium*, ridge of, i. 99. 121; ii. 318; *katavóthra* on the southern side of Mount, iii. 42.  
 Cresphontes, Dorian conqueror, territory acquired by him, i. 364. 369. 457. 458.  
 Crete, island of, i. 170. 200. 207; the education of Jupiter, ii. 310.  
*Creusis*, at Livadostro, iii. 315.  
*Crius*, river, iii. 392, 393.  
*Croceæ*, i. 249. 257.  
*Cromi*, or *Cromnus*, walls of, ii. 44; vestiges of the city, 294; at Samará, 297. 323.  
*Crommyon*, vestiges of this town, iii. 307, 308.  
 ——— capture of, iii. 256.  
*Croneium*, Mount, i. 25. 29, 30. 35. 38. 42; ii. 203.  
*Crotona*, and the river *Crathis* in Italy, iii. 417.  
 Crows, island of, ii. 74.  
 Crucifixion, the, i. 340.  
 Cruni, the fountain, i. 59. 420; ii. 300.



*Crypte*, or Secret Entrance to the stadium at Olympia, i. 39.  
*Curetes*, the, i. 369. 371.  
*Current* plantations of the plain of Patra, ii. 123, 125; estimated value of them, 154.  
*Currants*, or dwarf grapes of the Moræa, ii. 125; their perfume, 141; cultivation, 348.  
*Customs*, modern and ancient, i. 448.  
*Cyathus* offering the cup to Hercules, iii. 342.  
*Cyclopes*, their masonry exemplified in the remains of Tiryns, ii. 350; their works at Mycenæ, 365; altars of the, iii. 291. 296.  
*Cylarabis*, a gymnasium, ii. 407.  
*Cylarabus*, son of Sthenelus, tomb, ii. 407.  
*Cyllene*, Mount, i. 7; the highest mountain of Arcadia, iii. 139.  
 ——— site at Glaréntza, ii. 163; the harbour, ii. 174; iii. 111. 116.  
*Cynætha*, its situation, ii. 109; dissensions of the citizens, iii. 129; destruction of the city, 130; its site at Kalávryta, 179; Arcadian city, iii. 404.  
*Cynisca*, heroum of, i. 166.  
*Cynortas*, tomb of, i. 163.  
*Cynosuræ*, i. 178.  
*Cynosurenses*, the, i. 175. 178.  
*Cynuræi*, the, ii. 320; their towns determined, 323; *Cynuria*, 493.  
*Cyparissia*, town of Messenia, i. 229. 372. 426. 482.  
*Cyparissia*, i. 62. 72. 82.  
*Cyparissian* mountain, i. 76. 226.  
 ——— gulf, 392.  
*Cyparissus*, i. 293.  
*Cyphanta*, port, ii. 501.  
*Cypress* trees, i. 218; great cypress at Patra, ii. 147; cypresses called the Virgins, 245.  
*Cypresses*, grove named the *Cra-neium*, iii. 234.  
*Cypsela*, the fort taken by the Spartans, ii. 322.  
*Cypselus*, box of, i. 36; king of Arcadia, 458; race of, ii. 321; his offering of a statue of Jupiter of hammered gold, iii. 275.  
*Cyrus*, sanctuary of Æsculapius at, iii. 219. 223.  
*Cythera*, island of, 127. 223.  
*Cytherus*, the river, ii. 192.

## D.

*DÆDALUS*, statues by, ii. 295; works of the sculptor, iii. 240.  
*Dalion*, river, i. 59.  
*Damophon* of Messene, colossal sculptures by, i. 369; ii. 36, 369; iii. 189.  
*Danae*, brazen chamber at Argos, in which Acrisius confined her, ii. 382; description, 409.  
*Danaus*, throne of; his competition with Gelanor, ii. 402; his daughters, 405—477. 479.  
*Daphne*, account by the poets of, ii. 267.  
*Dardanus*, cavern noted for the birth of, i. 60.  
*Daviá*, river of, or the *Helisson*, i. 116; vale of, ii. 51; village, 52.  
*Death*, statue representing, i. 170.  
*Deine*, fresh water rising in the sea, near Genethlium in Argolis, ii. 480, 481; iii. 47. 56.  
*Deiras*, the hill, at Argos, ii. 400; the gate of Deiras, 400. 411.  
*Delamanára*, antiquities at the ruined church, ii. 349.  
*Delikli-baba*, rock off the island *Sphacteria*, i. 400.  
*Deliklitz*, village, i. 434.  
*Delimemi*, i. 354.  
*Delphi*, treasures at, i. 39; tomb of Arcas transported by command of the oracle, 107; the oracle, 180.  
*Delus*, ravaged by Metrophanes, i. 214.  
*Demetrius Poliorcetes*, i. 179; his conquest of Athens and attack upon Sparta, iii. 84.  
 ——— son of Antigonos, captures Sicyon, iii. 250. 366. *et seq.*  
 ——— son of Philip, i. 370, 393.  
 ——— St., or Ai Dhimítri, on the coast near Vitylo, i. 320, 321.  
*Demíro*, in the plain of the Eurotas, iii. 16.  
*Demosthenes*, commander of the Athenian armament in the Peninsula of Pylus, i. 401, *et seq.*; death of the orator, ii. 452.  
*Denteliatis*, a district of Messenia, i. 364.



- Deomeneia, brazen statue of, i. 108.  
*Deræ* in Messenia, i. 467.  
*Derrhium*, statue of Diana Der-  
 rhatis, iii. 3. 5.  
*Dervéni*, guard-house of a pass ;—  
 Mount Smerna, i. 52. 54 ; of the  
 Stenúri, 124. 190. 193.  
 ——— bridge of the, near the  
 khan of Tara, ii. 269.  
*Dervish* Bey, i. 191.  
*Despœna*, statue of, ii. 10. 295 ;  
 colossal sculpture of, 308 ; tem-  
 ple of the ' Mistress ', 306, 307.  
*Devils*, a quarrel between two de-  
 mons on Mount Saetá, iii. 148.  
*Dhafni*, Paleó, i. 265.  
*Dhamalá*, former importance of the  
 bishopric and town of, ii. 446.  
*Dhekatia*, the tithe, i. 3. 11.  
*Dhiakófto*, stream joining the sea  
 at, ii. 111 ; river of, iii. 396.  
*Dhiásylo*, explanation of the word,  
 iii. 106.  
*Dhiavolítza*, town of, i. 481. 483.  
*Dhídhavra*, village, iii. 395.  
*Dhikhó*, a ravine so named, i. 285.  
*Dhíkova*, vestiges of a temple at,  
 i. 267. 277.  
*Dhímandra*, village, i. 483. 485.  
*Dhímitzána*, town on a moun-  
 tain-ridge, i. 82 ; situation above  
 the Alpheius, ii. 19. 22 ; studies  
 in the school, 60 ; romantic cha-  
 racter of the position, and an-  
 cient vestiges, 63 ; iii. 125.  
*Dhiofórti*, hill of, ii. 10, 11. 18 ; it  
 is the proper *Lycæum*, 19 ; the  
 lowest falls, 20 ; Dhioforti and  
 Tetrázi are the highest points of  
 the Lycæan range, 27 ; this  
 mountain is the sacred summit  
 of Olympus, ii. 313 ; the modern  
 name is significant, 314. 316.  
*Dhipótamo* river, formed of the  
 Pídhima and Mavrozúmeno, i.  
 358.  
*Dhívri*, town of, ii. 116. 229. 236.  
*et seq.*  
*Dhomokó*, remains of Hellenic walls  
 at, ii. 204 ; the modern town  
 once important, 238 ; the river,  
 239.  
*Dhóriza*, i. 265.  
*Dhoxá*, monastery of, iii. 157.  
*Dhragoi*, i. 488.  
*Dhrépano*,—Cape *Drepanum*, iii.  
 195.  
*Dhulianá*, village, ii. 326, 327.  
*Dhulianá*, river of, ii. 327. 333.  
*Dia*, or *Hebe*, temple of, iii. 344.  
*Diæus*, conduct of, iii. 203.  
*Diana*, various particulars of the  
 goddess's celebrated temples, fes-  
 tivals, and statues, i. 146. 162.  
 274. 329. 364 ; ii. 127. 214. 460.  
 523 ; iii. 233. 239. 266. 295, 296 ;  
 her temple at *Ægeira*, 388.  
 ——— *Eginæa*, i. 165.  
 ——— *Agrotera*, ii. 37.  
 ——— *Alpheiaæ*, at Letrini, ii.  
 188.  
 ——— *Alpheionia*, or *Alpheiusa*, i.  
 58. 189.  
 ——— *Calliste*, temple, ii. 300.  
 ——— *Cedreatis*, iii. 100.  
 ——— *Cnacalesia*, iii. 119.  
 ——— *Cnagia*, i. 170.  
 ——— *Cnateatis*, i. 122.  
 ——— *Cordax*, ii. 209.  
 ——— *Daphnæa*, temple, i. 274.  
 ——— *Dictynna*, i. 162. 274. 276.  
 ——— *Ephesia*, ii. 33 ; temple and  
 festival at Scillus, 214. 216.  
 ——— *Hegemache*, i. 165.  
 ——— *Hegemone*, i. 93 ; ii. 307.  
 ——— *Hemeresia*, ii. 110 ; iii. 179.  
 ——— *Hiergia*, ii. 317.  
 ——— *Issoria*, i. 165. 177.  
 ——— *Laphria*, ii. 127.  
 ——— *Leucophryene*, i. 147.  
 ——— *Limnæa*, i. 165 ; iii. 359.  
 ——— *Limnatis*, i. 122 ; ii. 129.  
 ——— *Lycia*, temple built by  
 Hippolytus, ii. 444.  
 ——— *Lycotis*, ii. 304.  
 ——— *Mysia*, iii. 14.  
 ——— *Nemidia*, ii. 158.  
 ——— *Orthia*, i. 168 ; ii. 341.  
 ——— *Patroa*, iii. 360.  
 ——— *Peitho*, ii. 405.  
 ——— *Pheræa*, ii. 409 ; iii. 363.  
 ——— *Φωσφόρος*, i. 369.  
 ——— *Pyronia*, iii. 138.  
 ——— *Soteira*, ii. 34 ; her temple  
 founded by Theseus, ii. 443 ; iii.  
 218.  
 ——— *Stymphalia*, temple, iii. 113.  
 ——— *Triclaria*, temple, iii. 413.  
*Diagon*, river, ii. 85 ; or the stream  
 called the *Dalion*, 89. 208.  
*Dictynna*, temple of, i. 162. 274.  
*Dictynneium*, i. 173. 274.  
*Dike*, the battle at the Great, i.  
 460. 467.  
*Dindymene* and *Attes*, temple of,  
 ii. 123. 162.

- Diocletian, i. 293.  
 Diodorus, his description of the Theban invasion of Laconia, iii. 29; quoted with respect to Sicily, iii. 366, 367.  
 Diogenes of Sinope, his statue in Lechæum, iii. 234.  
 Diolcus, of the Isthmus of Corinth, iii. 297. 300.  
 Diomedes, i. 432; founds the temple of Minerva Oxyderces, ii. 410; temples dedicated by, ii. 445. 465.  
 Dionysias, the fountain, i. 72.  
 Dionysium, the, i. 163. 171.  
 Diophanes, commander of the Achaian forces, i. 388; son of Diaus, statue of, and elegy, ii. 33.  
 Dioscuri, temples and statues of the, i. 106. 163. 165. 182. 249. 257. 328. 369; called the Great Gods, ii. 260; statues by Dipænus and Scyllis, of them and their sons, and of Hilaeira and Phœbe, in ebony, ii. 407.  
*Dioscurium*, explanation of the name, ii. 186; iii. 132; in the Phliásia, 350.  
*Dipæu*, its ruins on a rock near the Helisson, ii. 52.  
 Discipline, military, of the ancient Greeks, iii. 82.  
 Dium, in Macedonia, i. 138; destroyed by the Ætolians, iii. 132.  
 Djamitiko, i. 483.  
 Djezaïr, Eyalet of the, or government general of the Islands, i. 45.  
 Djidjóri, village and river, i. 396.  
 Djímová. *See* Tzímova.  
 Djirdje, i. 485.  
 Djóia, near the Alpheiús, i. 23.  
 Dobó, the Igúmenos of the monastery of, ii. 177.  
 Dodwell, Mr., researches of, ii. 312.  
 Dolgorouki, Russian attempt under this officer upon Mothóni, i. 208.  
 Donnelly, Capt., R. N. i. 285.  
*Donusa*, town of, iii. 217.  
 Dorceia, i. 166.  
 Dorceus, i. 167.  
 Dorians, the, i. 163. 458.  
*Doric* temple, i. 37; capitals, 134; dialect, 293. 331. 384; Doric partition of the Peloponnesus, 364, 365; shafts and columns, ii. 4; dialect, 505.  
*Doric* architecture, characteristics of the celebrated temples of antiquity, iii. 249. *See the Additional Note*, 268—284.  
 Dorinachus, victorious leader of the Ætolians, iii. 123. 129. 131.  
*Dorium*, ruins of, i. 391: Mount, 484, 485.  
 Dotadas, the Messenian, i. 458.  
 Dream and Sleep, statues of, iii. 361.  
*Drepanum*, Cape Dhrépano, iii. 413, 414. 417.  
 Dromus, i. 165. 167. 174—176, 177.  
 Dryopes, the, i. 442. 463.  
 Dryops, leader of the Asinæi, i. 442.  
 Dumená, iii. 183.  
 Durali, i. 231.  
 Dyme, beautiful bay near, ii. 153; position of, 160; iii. 227.  
*Dyspontium*, emigration of its inhabitants, ii. 193.
- E.
- EARTH, altar of the, i. 93. 161, 162; statue of, ii. 130.  
 ——— *Eurysternus*, temple at the place named *Gæus*, iii. 406.  
 Earthquake, *Bura* destroyed by one, iii. 399 *et seq.*; at Vostítza, 402.  
 Earthquakes in the Moréa, i. 341; effect of them upon the ancient Greek structures, ii. 7. 113. 132; at Patra, 143; destruction of Helice and Bura, iii. 154.  
 Eastern aspect common to Greek temples, ii. 313.  
 Easter, mode of celebrating the festival by the Greeks, i. 206. 351. 358. 476; iii. 209.  
 Echeiæ, i. 345.  
 Echemus, monument and pillar of, i. 94.  
 Edrene, i. 220.  
 Edris Bey, commandant at Neó-kastro, i. 399.  
 Eel, the, ii. 100.  
*Egesta*, or *Segesta*, its great temple, iii. 280.  
 'Eghina, gulf of, iii. 226. *See* *Ægina*.  
 Egypt, bricks baked in the sun, i. 2; maize and dhurra of, 12.

- Egyptian, i. 210. 491.  
*Eira*, site of, i. 468. 486. 501 ; ii. 14.  
 — Mount, the Messenians blockaded by the Lacedæmonians, i. 467, 468.  
*Elæum*, i. 485.  
*Elafonísi*, i. 215. 227 ; ii. 518.  
*Elaium*, Mount, i. 485. 492. 499.  
*Elaphus*, its confluence with the river Helisson, ii. 303. 305.  
*Elatus*, son of Arcas, i. 94.  
*Electra*, river, i. 391. 482.  
 ELEIA, the, i. 1 ; plain of Elis, 2 ; remarkable rock of Portes, 4 ; coast of the Eleia, 7 ; the Eleian hills, 21 ; extent, 67. 362. 485 ; territory of the, ii. 14. 151. 154 ; its ancient geography, 179. 219 ; its numerous temples, 231.  
 Eleian prophets named Iamidæ, i. 162, 163.  
 Eleians, their possessions and wars, i. 369 ; ii. 77. 193. 196 ; they presided at the Olympic contest, 213 ; they occupied Psophis, 246.  
 Eleii, the ; Triphylia inhabited by the three tribes of Epeii, Eleii, and Minyæ, 63. 67 ; dialect of the Eleians, 330.  
 Elenítza, mountain, ii. 43.  
 Eleuthero-Lacones, cities of Laconia formed by Augustus into the community bearing this name, autonomous and freed from the rule of Sparta, i. 278, 279. 291. 312. 329 ; iii. 6 ; Prasiæ, 7.  
 Eleuthero-Laconic, i. 219. 264.  
 Eliá, Ai, i. 253 ; hill of, above Andrítzena, ii. 16.  
 Elias, Kyr, i. 450. 474.  
 — Saint, chapel of, at Sklavokhóri, i. 134 ; mountain of, 282 ; peak of, or Makrynó, 191. 321.  
*Elis*, site of, i. 4 ; the Peneius, 5 ; name of Ephyra, 6 ; decennial archons, 8 ; masonry, 28 ; the community of Elis, 59 ; roads to the city, 63. 372 ; deficiency of ancient buildings, ii. 178 ; monuments destroyed by Agis, 197 ; brick walls visible, 219 ; general account of the ancient city, 220 ; iii. 227.  
 Ellinikókastro, local name of ancient ruins ; site of Andania, i. 388. 478.  
 — river of, i. 483.  
 Elos, plain of, i. 190—198. 224. 229. 230. 232. 263. 485.  
*Elymia*, situation of, iii. 75.  
 Embolus, the, an entrance into the Hippodrome at Olympia, i. 41.  
 Emír Agá, a Turk of Kalávryta, ii. 262.  
 Emlátika Khoría, the, an appanage of the Sultan's sister, i. 477 ; ii. 23.  
 Enaræphorus, i. 166.  
 Endeia, i. 362.  
 Endœus, statue of Minerva Aleæ made by, i. 95.  
 Endymionæum, grove called, i. 60.  
 England, invitation of a Greek to, i. 323.  
 English travellers, their habits, ii. 90.  
*Enipeus*, river, ii. 192.  
*Eníspe*, ii. 102.  
*Enope*, i. 453.  
 Enyalius, i. 167. 182.  
 'Epakto, the author embarks at, ii. 152.  
 Epaminondas, his military achievements, his fortifications, and his policy, i. 112. 143. 144. 174. 177. 183. 369. 374. 473 ; ii. 41 ; iii. 25. 29. 76 *et seq.* ; tomb of, 51 ; his heroic death, 82 ; his tactics, 83.  
*Epeia*, a name of the city *Corone*, i. 441.  
*Epeii*, the, i. 6. 67 ; attacked by Hercules, 418 ; their boundary, ii. 181 ; governed by Augeias, 199.  
*Epeium*, town of, ii. 206.  
 Ephebeium, the, i. 185.  
 Ephebi, the, i. 165, 166. 182.  
 Ephesus, victory of Lysander at, i. 169.  
 Ephoreia, i. 161.  
 Ephori, magistrates mentioned in inscriptions at Kyparisso, i. 161. 293.  
 Ephyra, a city, afterwards Elis, i. 6, 7.  
 Epidaurii, the, i. 216.  
 Epidaurus Limera, i. 195. 210, 211. 213—215. 217. 219. 222.  
 —, road to, ii. 416 ; the sacred grove, 417 ; repute of the city of, 429 ; fortifications and public edifices, 430 *et seq.*  
 Epidelium, i. 215.

- Epieicia, the fortress, iii. 373—375.  
 Epimelides, i. 441.  
 Epimenides, i. 162. 163.  
 Epione, wife of Æsculapius, statue of, ii. 422. 431.  
 Epitadas, Spartan commander in Sphacteria, i. 406.  
*Epitalium* on the left bank of the Alpheius, i. 65 ; ii. 196 ; site of *Thryon*, or *Thryoessa*, 198.  
 Epochus, i. 95.  
 Epopeus, temples at Sicyon built by, iii. 363.  
*Erana*, town of, i. 426.  
*Erasinus*, i. 192 ; sources of the river, ii. 340. 342. 470 ; the river of *Stymphalus*, iii. 113. 145.  
 Ergatæ, hermaic statues of the five gods called, ii. 37.  
 Erinns, the goddess, ii. 102.  
*Erymanthus*, river, ii. 62. 75 ; its junction with the *Alpheius*, 89 ; its rise in Mount Lampeia, 196 ; at Psophis, 241 *et seq.*  
 ——— mountain appertaining to Mount 'Olono, ii. 69. 185. 253.  
 Eubœa, Mount, the Heræum, ii. 392.  
 Eucleides, Athenian sculptor, iii. 388.  
 Eucosmus, i. 168.  
 Eumenides, temples of the, ii. 294 ; iii. 353 ; at Ceryneia, 405 ; these goddesses were also called *Semnæ*, 352.  
 Euphaes, king of Messenia, i. 462 ; his death, 464.  
 Euphemion, Quintus Plotius, i. 373.  
 Euphron, tyrant of Sicyon, iii. 348.  
 Eupolis of Athens, comic writer, iii. 358.  
 Euripidas, Ætolian commander, ii. 246. 248 ; iii. 132. 133. 420.  
 Euripides quoted, i. 148 ; his allusions to Cyclopean walls, ii. 365 ; his epithet for Laconia, iii. 25.  
 Europe, exports from Greece to Western, i. 131. 352.  
 European vessels, i. 317. 324.  
*Eurotas*, river, receives the *Pandeleimona* torrent, i. 127 ; course, 129. 134 ; its vale, 135 ; remarkable acclivity, 137 ; level on the water side, 153 ; the bridge, 171. 181 ; the *Dromus*, 174 ; ford, 176 ; rocky ravine, 191 ; junction of the *Erasina*, 192 ; narrow vale or aulon, 194. 278. 362 ; source, ii. 317 ; valley of this celebrated river, iii. 12 ; caverns and a Hellenic wall, 13 ; river Iri, 18 ; deep glen, 19 ; course underground, 37 ; curious fable, 38.  
 Eurybiades, i. 168.  
 Eurycles, governor of Laconia, i. 223. 291 ; bath of, iii. 239.  
 Eurycydium, grove named, i. 60.  
 Euryleonis, statue of, i. 170.  
 Eurynome, i. 492.  
 Eurypon, i. 172.  
 Eurypylus, monument of, ii. 128.  
 Eurysthenes, i. 457 ; ii. 532.  
 Eurytus, son of Melaneus, i. 391. 456.  
 ——— and Cteatus, monument of, iii. 326.  
*Eutæa*, position of, ii. 319 ; iii. 31—33.  
 Eutresii, the, ii. 320.  
 Eva, city, i. 9 ; hill, 142 ; ii. 478. 493 ; Mount, 529. 530.  
 Evan, Mount, above Messene, i. 80 ; adjacent ruins, 359. 366. 368. 376. 382. 384. 394.  
 Evander leads a colony from Palantium to Rome, the origin of the name Palatine, i. 118, 119 ; visited at Pheneus by Anchises, iii. 152.  
 Evenus, accumulation of soil at the mouth of the river, ii. 148.  
 Evgaziâ, the wind, iii. 207.  
 Evil Counsel, i. 260.  
 Evloghiâ, a disease of sheep, i. 19.  
*Evoras*, i. 188 ; chase for bears, stags, and other animals at, iii. 3.  
 Excavations made at some ancient Grecian sites, ii. 5 ; by Lord Elgin at Mycenæ, 373.  
 Executions in the Moréa : exposure of the culprits after death, iii. 36 ; impaling, 93.  
 Exokhóri, the southern quarter of Mistrá, i. 130.  
 Eyalet of the Djezaïr, i. 45.

## F.

FALSE information given by the Greeks to travellers, ii. 177, 178.



- Fanári, cultivation and crops near, i. 3; road, 50, 51. 75; ii. 12; the castle, 16; description of the town, 68; intaglio purchased there, 80.
- Fanarítiko, Mount, villages and cultivation at the foot of, ii. 15; the hill described, 16. 68; view from its s. E. peak Zakkúka, 69; the western summit, 81.
- Farmisi, i. 354. 358.
- Fates, the, i. 161; led by Jupiter, ii. 307.
- Fauvel, Monsieur, his researches at Olympia, i. 33.
- Feshes, red caps fitting tight on the head, i. 132.
- Fília, or Fyla, village, i. 388; ii. 268.
- Filiatrá, quantity of oil the produce of, i. 74.
- Filokáli, monastery on Mount Movri, ii. 163.
- Finger, monument of the, relating to Orestes, ii. 294.
- Finíki, village of, i. 201. 204. 222. 230.
- Finikiótika, i. 222.
- Fir, forests of, ii. 116.
- Flamborítza, valley of, iii. 222, 223.
- Flamininus, T. Q., i. 173. 388.
- Flax cultivated in Achaia and Eleia, ii. 166.
- Floka, village above the Pisæan valley, i. 24. 26; ii. 192.
- Foniá, river of, ii. 95.
- mountain of, iii. 142. 150.
- village and kalývia, iii. 114 —117. 141. 147. 156.
- Foniátiko, river, iii. 141, 142, 143. 157.
- Fónissa, the river, iii. 220. 385. 393.
- Fonts, baptismal, i. 499.
- Formica Leo*, the, and its conical habitation, ii. 89.
- Forest scenery, ii. 232.
- Fortresses, character of the early Greek cities, ii. 319.
- Fortune, temples of, i. 362; iii. 237; temple at Megalopolis, ii. 34; colossal statue at Elis, 224; statue described, iii. 388.
- *Acraea*, temple at Sicyon, iii. 359.
- Frango-Limióna, the harbour called, iii. 313.
- Frangóvrysi, or Frank-spring, a fountain near Tripolitzá, i. 84. 117; plain of Frangóvrysi, ii. 45; the khan and rivulet, 46; paleó-kastro of, iii. 34; khan and fountain of, 34; the emissory of the stream of the Taki, 42; sources on the East, 38, 39; the emissory of the Saranda Potamó, 42.
- Frank princes of the Moréa, ii. 21. 27; ecclesiastical edifices of the date of their principalities, 87. 89; Frank conquest, 136. 173.
- Franks, devastations committed by them in the Moréa, i. 306.
- French, jealousy of the Turks with respect to the, ii. 49.
- Friday, Good, observance of, i. 340.
- Fridjála, i. 354. 476.
- Fuka, Mount, iii. 325. 328.

## G.

- GAIDHARA, ridge of, iii. 174.
- Galatá, castle of, ii. 104.
- Galatáki, bay of, iii. 235.
- village of, iii. 235.
- Galaxídhi, iii. 186.
- Gallo, Kavo, or *Acritas*, i. 435. 443.
- Garbeléa, i. 262.
- Garbino wind, i. 283.
- Garbítza, i. 192.
- Gardhúki, village near a mountain pass, i. 82; former importance of, ii. 45; iii. 18.
- Gargaliáno, wine of this village, i. 74. 389. 398; island of Proti, 428.
- Garca*, its site near Dhulianá, ii. 333.
- Gareates*, river, ii. 332.
- Gaseptum, i. 162.
- Gastúni, the author lands here from Zante in 1805, i. 1; river of Gastúni or *Peneius*, town described, 2; water, 8; sea-ports, 10; imposts, 11; crops, 13; the metayer's mode of agriculture, 15; the kázasi or district, 44; exports, 46, 47; neglect of education, ii. 177.
- Gates of ancient towns, remarkable examples, ii. 25.
- Gatheatas*, vale and river, ii. 294. 322, 323.



- Gatheates, the river of Ghianéus, iii. 23.  
 Gauls, their invasion of Greece, ii. 125.  
 Gavriá, romantic hill, iii. 343; the name, 345.  
 Gdhani, village, i. 82.  
 ——— the torrent, ii. 45; iii. 41.  
 Gell, Sir William, travels of, ii. 314.  
 Gems and coins on which the celebrated statues of antiquity were represented, ii. 80.  
*Genethlium*, Theseus born at, ii. 448—480; of Argolis, iii. 47.  
 George, plain of St., iii. 107.  
 ——— mountain of St., 236. 349.  
 ——— town of, iii. 335, 336; its healthy situation and cool climate, 337.  
 ——— church of, at Arkadhía, and vestiges of antiquity, i. 71, 72.  
 ——— feast of, i. 476.  
*Geræ*, fortress near Sicyon, iii. 376.  
 Geraneia, hill of, iii. 312.  
*Geranthræ*, situation of, iii. 6.  
*Gerenia*, its cavern; site occupied by Kitriés, i. 323; the Homeric *Enope*, 329. 361.  
*Geronteium*, ridge, iii. 115, 116. 143.  
 Ghelini, hamlet of, iii. 224. 226.  
 Gheorghítika, ii. 328.  
 Gheráki, commanding site, and Hellenic vestiges, iii. 8. *See* Ieráki.  
 Ghermótzana, or Ghermotzáni, monastery of, ii. 116; village, 121. 235. 240.  
 Ghianéus, or Ianéus, village, iii. 23; s. w. spring of the Alpheius copious, *ib.*  
 Ghiorgáki, Kyr, [Avgherinó,] i. 22, 23.  
 Ghiórgbio, i. 235. 267.  
 Ghiorghítza, village of, i. 125; iii. 17—20.  
 Ghiriniá of the Moréa, i. 13.  
 Ghýftissa, Cape, iii. 211.  
 Ghyrnovúni, hill of, iii. 214. 222. 224, 225.  
 Giants, bones of one of the, ii. 37.  
 Gibraltar, i. 202.  
 Gíóza, in the plain of Pheneus, iii. 106; pass of, 118. 141—148.  
 Gita, i. 287, 288, 289. 310.  
 Gitiadas, i. 146. 169.  
 Glaréntza, or Glarántza, its ruined castle, harbour, and vestiges of *Cyllene*, i. 10. 46; ii. 173, 174; Cape Glaréntza, 176.  
 Glatza, i. 73.  
 Glauce, fountain, iii. 240.  
*Glaucus*, the torrent, ii. 123. 154.  
 Gligoráki, Antony, or Andon, Bey of Mani, i. 234, *et seq.*; 241. 253. 269. 290. 318.  
 ——— Dhimitrio, i. 316. 326. 235.  
 ——— John. *See* Tzanét-Bey.  
 ——— Thódhoro, i. 236.  
 Glympeis, i. 139.  
*Glympia*, near the Cynurian passes, iii. 9.  
*Glyppia*, town, iii. 7, 8.  
 Gofó, fish of a great size, iii. 211.  
 Gonoessa, pointed hill named also Donoessa and Donussa, iii. 385.  
 Good Friday, i. 340.  
 — God, temple of the, ii. 303.  
 Goranus, i. 265.  
 Gordian, i. 293.  
 Gorgasus, i. 344.  
 Gorges of mountains in the Moréa, pass of Mount Taygetum, i. 473; between the Karitena hill and Dhiófórti, ii. 21; of Tjimbarú, 46; near Magulianá, 59; of Nezerá, a pass of great strength, 120; pass of Mount Krávari, iii. 34; near Vostítza, 184.  
*Gorgus*, in the Thelpusia, iii. 132.  
*Gortynius* river, otherwise the *Lusius*, ii. 24. 26. 59. 290. 292.  
*Gortys*, site of this ancient town near Atzikolo, ii. 24; the *Asclepieium*, 26; city of, and temple of *Æsculapius*, 290.  
 Gothic church in ruin, near the Alpheius, ii. 87; delineations of its pointed windows, 88.  
 Goths, i. 185.  
 Graces, temples, &c. of the, i. 146, 147. 165; ii. 223, 224.  
 Grain; cultivation of the Moréa, i. 148.  
 Gránitza, village of, iii. 118.  
*Great Goddesses*, or Ceres and Proserpine, their peribolus and statues at Megalopolis, ii. 35, 36; their ceremony at Bathos, 291.  
*Greatest Gods*, statues of clay of the, ii. 118.

Greek church, the, i. 239 ; studies pursued by such as are intended for the priesthood, ii. 61.  
 Greeks, modern, their personal appearance, hardihood, and active exertions, iii. 172, 173.  
 Gregoras, Nicephorus, i. 186.  
 Grivi, village of, i. 435.  
 Grosso, Kavo, i. 286, 287, 288, 289. 303. 306. 311. 321.  
 Gryllus, son of Xenophon, i. 107, 108 ; said to have slain Epaminondas, iii. 32.  
 Guildford, Earl of, *collection*, iii. 265.  
 Gulíánika, i. 265.  
 Gumruk, the, i. 11.  
 Gurtzúli, village, i. 103. 109, 110. 112.  
 ——— hill of, iii. 95. 97.  
 Guzúmistra, ruins of an ancient city near, iii. 420.  
 Gymnasia, various, i. 107. 370. 381. 490 ; at Megalopolis, ii. 36. 38 ; at Elis, 220.  
 Gytheates, i. 278.  
 Gythium, city of, i. 233 ; the ruins called Paleópoli, 244, *et seq.* ; valley of *Gythium*, 260 ; vicinity of, 273 ; coarse white marble, 289.

## H.

HADES, temple of, i. 59 ; ii. 224.  
 Hadrian, the Emperor, his public works in Greece, i. 105. 113 ; ii. 48 ; iii. 49. 112. 243.  
 Hæmonia, founded by Hæmon, son of Lycaon, ii. 317.  
 Hagno, statue of the nymph, ii. 35. 310.  
 ——— fountain on Mount Lycæum, ii. 310.  
 Halicarnassus, the Queen of, i. 161.  
 Halice, town of, ii. 462.  
 Halil Bey, Turkish proprietor, ii. 238.  
 Haller, Baron, researches of, ii. 5.  
 Harbours of the ancient Greeks ; breakwater, and other works, ii. 436.  
 Harby, Sir Clement, ii. 134.  
 Harmony of the Greek masonry, or accurate adaptation, ii. 6.  
 Harpinna, city, and the stream *Harpinnates*, i. 31 ; ii. 209. 211.

*Harpleia*, position of, iii. 3. 5.  
 Hassán Aga, i. 3.  
 ——— Bey, i. 207. 209, 210. 232. 263. 316. 318 ; ii. 64.  
 ——— the Grand Vezír, i. 209.  
 Hawkins, Mr., iii. 246.  
 Hebe, i. 106.  
 ——— or Ganymeda, temple at Phlius, iii. 340.  
 Hecate, temple, and image by Scopas of, ii. 407 ; temple at Ægina, the triple form of her statues, 435.  
 Helen, i. 182.  
 ——— castle of St., ii. 315.  
 Helena, i. 182.  
 Helene, i. 167 ; bath of, iii. 233. 235 ; the warm sources near Cenchræa, 319, 320.  
 ——— St., ancient fortified town called the Castle of, ii. 18.  
 Helice, a city of Achaia, destroyed by an earthquake, iii. 154. 399 *et seq.* ; 405.  
 Helisson, the, i. 116, 117 ; now the river of Daviá, ii. 28 ; divided Megalopolis, 32. 38 ; the Stená, 52 ; its rise and junction with the Alpheius, 291 ; iii. 383.  
 ——— the town, ii. 54.  
 Hellanodica and Agonistæ, their entrance into the Altis at Olympia, i. 35.  
 Hellen, family of, iii. 196.  
 Hellenes, i. 384.  
 Hellenic masonry, note explaining the various orders of the, i. 53.  
 ——— walls, i. 193. 210—212. 221. 256. 276. 296. 300. 313. 324. 331, 332. 346. 354. 366.  
 ——— towns, various ruins and sites of : *Messene*, i. 366—395 ; castle of St. Helene, ii. 18, *et passim*.  
 ——— state of society in the strictly Hellenic ages, ii. 14 ; study of the ancient tongue, 61.  
 Hellenium, i. 162.  
 Helmet having an inscription, purchased at Pyrgo, i. 47.  
 Helos, i. 141. 197. 226. 230. 279 ; gates at, Shálesi, the site of the temple of Ceres at, ii. 305 ; course of the Eurotas at, iii. 37.  
 Helote, character of a modern, i. 197 ; insurrection, or third Messenian war, 471.  
 Helotes, the, i. 471.

- Heracleia*, a town of the Pisatis, ii. 192; site of, 193.
- Heracleidæ*, their conquests in the Peloponnesus, i. 6. 199. 364. 457; their return into it, ii. 355.
- Heracleium*, the temple near Mantinea, iii. 58. 60. 63.
- Heræa*, chief town of the lower plain of the Alpheiis, i. 9; ii. 20. 75; at the village of Aïani, 92.
- Heræenses*, the, ii. 74.
- Heræus*, son of Lycaon, ii. 74.
- Heræum*, the Argolic; temple of Juno Argeia, ii. 387, 388; its exact site, 391, 392.
- or the promontory of Juno, iii. 314.
- , Corinthians who retreated to it for security, iii. 317 *et seq.*
- Hercina*, i. 127.
- Hercules*, histories and particulars respecting him, temples, &c.: i. 94. 165. 169. 182. 246. 273. 298. 301. 330. 364. 418; ii. 37. 203; wooden statue by Dædalus, 295. 459. 474; iii. 238. 240; temples of, 326. 361; square statue, 363. 522.
- *Buraicus*, oracular statue of, iii. 406.
- and Hebe, silver altar with sculptures representing their marriage, ii. 390; marriage of, iii. 268.
- , he destroys the birds called Stymphalides with his arrows, iii. 113; trench and chasms of the Pheneatice, 136; this supposed work of Hercules can yet be traced, 151. 266; slays the Nemean lion, 329.
- Hermæ*, or statues of Hermes, of a square form, i. 371; ii. 479. 523.
- Hermæa*, games celebrated at Pheneus, iii. 137.
- Hermæum*, near *Phædria*, ii. 296; statue of Mercury, 297; near *Belemina*, iii. 22.
- Hermes*, the god, i. 93. 161. 274. 343. 370. 373. 391; ii. 37. 158. 174; iii. 137. 238.
- *Dolius*, statue of a square form, bearded, and having a hat, iii. 218.
- Hermes*, *Polygius*, ii. 444.
- Hermione*, i. 275; city of, ii. 458.
- Herodes*, T. C. Atticus, built the Odeum at Corinth, iii. 240. 290. 298.
- Herodotus*, i. 176.
- Hesiod*, his personification of the river Styx, iii. 161.
- Hetæmocles*, statue of, i. 164.
- Hexamili*, village and tower, iii. 285.
- Hierothysium*, i. 370. 381.
- Hierum* of Epidauria, the Romans solicited the assistance of Æsculapius in curing a pestilence, ii. 426; reflections regarding this edifice, 427 *et seq.*
- High Cross*, mountain ridge, iii. 175.
- Hilæira*, statue of, i. 168. 370.
- Hippaphesis*, i. 41, 42. 44.
- Hippocrene*, statue of Hermes at the fountain, ii. 444. 447.
- Hippodameia*, suitors of, ii. 209.
- Hippola*, i. 279. 287. 300.
- Hippolaitis*, i. 300.
- Hippolytus*, i. 163; dedication of horses by, ii. 422; sacred inclosure at Træzen of, 445; his house, 445; his chariot overturned, 448.
- Hipposthenes*, i. 167.
- Hippothous*, i. 95.
- Hodjâ-bashî*, i. 231. 327.
- Holcus*, the, i. 12.
- Homagyrum* at *Ægium*, council of the Greeks held there by Agamemnon, iii. 190.
- Homer*, various references and quotations, i. 60. 247. 286. 303. 329. 330. 343. 360. 361. 392. 422. 450. 456. 485; ii. 189. 354. 367; iii. 5. 112. 217; his description of the river Styx, 161.
- Horace*, his observation respecting the public magnificence of the early Romans, ii. 9.
- Horse*, monument of the, iii. 14.
- Horses*, breed of Arcadian, ii. 29.
- Hours*, figures of the, ii. 35.
- Hussein Agâ*, i. 265. 269.
- the Capitán Pashâ, ii. 345.
- Huts*, description of some curious, ii. 91.
- Hyacinthus*, i. 146.
- Hyameia*, i. 457. 459.
- Hydrophobia* cured at the fountain Alyssus, iii. 180.
- Hygieia*, i. 96; statue by Scopas,

- ii. 25; temple dedicated to, ii. 422.  
 Hypæsia, i. 61.  
*Hypana*, a city of Triphylia, i. 59; ii. 76. 84, 85.  
 Hypatodorus, his statue of Minerva at *Aliphera*, ii. 76, 77, 80.  
*Hyperesia*, or *Ægeira*, iii. 387.  
 Hypermnestra and Lynceus, ii. 413.  
 Hyperteleatum, i. 227.  
 Hypsi, i. 267. 274. 276—278.  
 Hypsoeis, i. 485.  
*Hypsus*, situation of, i. 267. 272; ii. 300.  
*Hyrmina*, or *Ormina*, the peninsula of Khlemútzi, ii. 176.  
*Hyrmine*, town mentioned by Homer, ii. 176. 182.  
 Hyrnetho, tragic story of, ii. 430.  
 Hysia, the remains of, ii. 332—337; victory of the Argives at, 342.
- I.
- IAMBIC verses, i. 293.  
 Ianáki Gligoráki, named Katzanó, i. 235. 268.  
 Ianatáki, Kyr, iii. 20.  
 Ianni, Ai, i. 145. 236.  
 Ibrahim Effendi, i. 274.  
 ——— Bey, village belonging to Nuri Bey, iii. 227.  
 Icarus, father-in-law of Ulysses, iii. 15.  
 Ichthys, Cape, opposite to Zákyntho, ii. 182. 186. 190.  
 Ictinus, architect, i. 493; his manner of strengthening columns against the horizontal action of earthquakes, ii. 8.  
 Iéraka, Port, i. 219; ii. 501.  
 ——— Cape, i. 219; ii. 496.  
 Ieráki, ancient site, i. 186. 193. 425; iii. 8.  
 Ieró, Sto;—the temple of Æsculapius, ii. 420; the seclusion has caused the degree of preservation of the sacred edifices, 427.  
 Ierokómio, monastery of, ii. 137.  
 Ignatius, metropolitan bishop of Arta, ii. 274.  
 Ikonómopulo, Kyr Ghiórgchio, of Navarin, i. 399. 428.  
 Ikonómu, Papa Alexi, ii. 68.  
 Ilium, i. 273, 274. 276.  
 Illyrians, i. 141; iii. 88.  
 Imbát, i. 450; in the Argolic Gulf, iii. 337.  
 Imlak, i. 354.  
 Imposts, severity of them upon the towns of the Moréa, ii. 23.  
*Inachus*, river, ii. 364.  
 ——— the river god, ii. 367.  
 Inert Plain, the *Ἀργὸν*, iii. 47, 48. 54; course of the waters from, 55, *et seq.*, 63. 81. 94.  
 Infernal Regions, i. 298.  
 Ino, i. 440; ii. 498; iii. 291.  
 —, Lake, i. 217.  
 Inscriptions at Mothóni of the Venetians, i. 431.  
 ——— Patrae, ii. 138.  
 Insurrection in Greece, remarks upon the, i. 448.  
 Intaglio of Minerva armed, ii. 80.  
 ——— beautiful antique, ii. 284.  
 Ioánnina, i. 347, 348.  
 Iolaus, i. 95.  
 Ionic, i. 188. 313; early specimens of Ionic architecture, ii. 4, 5.  
 Iops, i. 162.  
 Iphicrates, endeavours to obstruct a subterraneous water-course with sponges, iii. 145. 253. 255. 316.  
 Iphigeneia, statue of, iii. 388.  
 Ire, i. 330. 453.  
 Irene, St., i. 150; metókhi and church, iii. 397. 399.  
 Iri river, i. 125, 126. 174; iii. 18.  
 ——— *See Eurotas*.  
 Isa Bassa, a Turk of Koróni, i. 436.  
 Isidore, St., i. 66. 68.  
 Isis, i. 371; temple of, built at Trezen by the Halicarnassenses, ii. 446. 458; iii. 233. 244; temple and statue at Phlius, 341, 342.  
 ——— *Ægyptia*, iii. 241.  
 ——— *Pelagia*, iii. 241.  
 Ismail Effendi, i. 3.  
 Issoria, i. 177.  
 Issorium, i. 177.  
 Isthmian Games, iii. 289. 292.  
 Isthmus of Corinth, i. 35. 305; rugged hill of the, iii. 255; extent of the Isthmus, description of the ancient line of defence, wall, and canal attempted from sea to sea, 297, *et seq.*  
 Italy, i. 242.  
 Italian fortification, i. 286.  
*Ithome*, Mount, or mountain of Vurkáno, i. 78. 80. 358, 359,



360. 368. 371. 383. 385. 471 ;  
ii. 11.  
*Ithome* destroyed by the Spartans,  
i. 465.  
*Ium*, town of the Iatæ, iii. 19.  
*Izina*, i. 320.

J.

JANISSARIES, the, i. 447.  
*Jardanes*, i. 68.  
*Jardanus*, river, supposed to be  
the same as the *Acidas*, ii. 190.  
*Jerusalem*, patriarch of, i. 206.  
*John*, St., i. 45. 57. 72 ; village  
and monastery of, ii. 188.  
—— *Theológos*, St., village on a  
steep height above the Eurotas,  
iii. 12.  
*Joseph*, person styling himself  
Prince, i. 434.  
*Julian*, the emperor, i. 185.  
*Juniper berries* exported from Pa-  
tra, ii. 142.  
*Juno*, name of the goddess, i. 9 ;  
her temple was the most ancient  
building at Olympia, i. 34. 36 ;  
the chryselephantine statues by  
ancient sculptors, 43 ; statue by  
Praxiteles, 106. 161 ; the He-  
ræum near Argos, ii. 388. 461 ;  
temple of the goddess at Acragas,  
iii. 284 ; Heræum near Mycenæ  
rebuilt, 334 ; temple at Phlius,  
349 ; Heræum of Sicyon founded  
by Adrastus, 363.  
—— *Acræa*, ii. 410 ; iii. 314. 380.  
—— *Ægophagus*, i. 167.  
—— *Antheia*, ii. 406.  
—— *Aphrodite Hera*, i. 164.  
—— *Argeia*, i. 164. 171.  
—— *Bunæa*, iii. 241.  
—— *Hypercheiria*, i. 164.  
—— *Prodomia*, iii. 364.  
—— *Teleia*, ii. 36.  
*Jupiter*, his temple at Olympia, i.  
9 ; his great altar, 34 ; temple  
in the Altis, 35 *et seq.* ; colossal  
statues in the pediments or aeti,  
43 ; temple of a soft conchite  
limestone, 97 ; altar and temple,  
275. 277 ; ivory of his statue  
restored by Damophon, 369 ; in-  
closure sacred to Jupiter Lycæus,  
at Megalopolis, ii. 32 ; the sta-  
tues in his great temple, 34.

290 ; nursing and education,  
310 ; his statue brought from  
Troy, 410. 461 ; temple at Æge-  
ira, iii. 387.  
*Jupiter*, *Agoræus*, i. 161.  
—— *Apesantius*, iii. 327.  
—— *Capetolius*, iii. 240. 244.  
249.  
—— *Charmon*, iii. 51.  
—— *Chthonius*, iii. 238.  
—— *Cosmetas*, i. 169.  
—— *Croceatas*, i. 249.  
—— *Epidotus*, i. 106.  
—— *Euanemus*, i. 164.  
—— *Homagyrius*, iii. 189.  
—— *Hypatus*, brazen statue at  
Sparta, iii. 137.  
—— *Hypsistus*, iii. 238.  
——, *the Infant*, i. 371.  
—— *Ithomatas*, i. 328.  
—— *Larissæus*, ii. 410.  
—— *Lecheatas*, ii. 76.  
—— *Lycæus*, i. 122 ; sanctity  
of the temenos, 310 ; altar and  
fable, 311.  
—— *Meilichius*, statue, iii.  
360.  
—— *Messapeus*, the sacred  
portion of, iii. 2.  
—— *Nemeius*, description of  
the temple, iii. 327. 331 *et seq.*  
—— *Olympius*, great temple  
of, i. 9. 34. 163. 165 ; ii. 128.  
—— *Panhellenius*, iii. 247 ;  
temple, 275 ; magnificent tem-  
ple at Ægina, 440.  
—— *Phyrius*, altar to, ii. 405.  
—— *Plusius*, i. 182.  
—— *Pythæus*, ii. 523.  
—— *Soter*, i. 106. 211 *et seq.* ;  
ii. 445.  
—— *Sthenius*, altar of, ii. 447.  
—— *Teleius*, i. 93.  
—— *Tropæus*, i. 163.  
—— *Xenius*, i. 161.

K.

KABATO, mill of, ii. 268. 272.  
Kadîr-oglu, village of, i. 435.  
Kadý, i. 126 ; of Tripolitza, un-  
just interference in matters of  
property by the, ii. 284. 285.  
Kaio, Porto, i. 263. 264. 289. 295,  
296. 302. 305—308. 318.  
Kakalétrî, village beneath Tetrázi,



- i. 487 ; ii. 11 ; Hellenic walls at, 13.
- Kakavulía, district named the land of Evil Counsel, i. 291. 335.
- Kakí Skala, road so named, iii. 396.
- Kakolangádhi, convent of, ii. 120.
- Kakórema, river, i. 438.
- Kakotári, ii. 230.
- Kakúri, village of Mount Armenia, ii. 279 ; iii. 96.
- Kalagoniá, i. 157. 172.
- Kalamáki, Bay of, iii. 285—287. — Port, iii. 308.
- Kalamáta, description of the town and vicinity, its climate, &c., i. 324. 326. 342—362. 388 ; ii. 15 ; map illustrating the district inland from Kalamáta, iii. 17, 18. 36.
- Kalambókki, i. 12—15. 23. 46. 102. 125 ; cultivation of, iii. 353.
- Kalámi, i. 351. 362 ; the monastery of, ii. 24.
- Kalanisiá, islands of the Corinthian Gulf, iii. 314. 380.
- Kalanistro, large village, ii. 120.
- Kálano, village of, ii. 120.
- Kalávryta, town of, i. 101. 115 ; its fine sources, ii. 109, 110 ; the vilayéti, 111 ; river of, 114 ; iii. 397. 408 ; site of Cynætha, 179.
- Kalimáni, source of the Ladon river, ii. 235.
- Kalogriá, castle of, its masonry, ii. 163, 164 ; the lake and fishery, 165. 167.
- Kalógrío, convent of, ii. 120.
- Kaloskopí, called by the Venetians Belvedere, acropolis of the city of Elis, i. 4 ; ii. 225.
- Kalpáki, village of, *Orchomenus*, ii. 276 ; iii. 53. 99. 102. 106 ; hill of, 99.
- Kalteziá, village of, iii. 24.
- Kamáres, or Kamári, village, i. 354. 476 ; iii. 213 ; pyrgo of Nuri Bey, 384 ; the khan, 384, 385 ; ancient ruins, 391.
- Kambási on Mount Lykódhemo, i. 398.
- Kambos, i. 73, 74.
- Kamenítza, river of, ii. 122 ; village of, 155.
- Kamíli, Cape, i. 205. 215.
- Kandíli, Mount, ii. 277 ; vale of, 277 ; monastery of, iii. 105, 106 ; village of, 106 ; river of, 122.
- Kaparéli, village of, iii. 53.
- Kapitanáki, Ghiorghio, i. 315.
- Kapitáni, the, i. 319.
- Kapitanéi, i. 208.
- Kapitán Pashá, i. 45. 316.
- Kapsá, village of, ii. 279 ; vale of, 280, 281.
- Kara Osmán Oglú, his government in Asia Minor, ii. 23.
- Karamustafá, i. 75.
- Karavostási, metókhí of the convent of Nezerá, ii. 159 ; Hellenic remains, 160.
- Karína, i. 287.
- Karítana, town of, i. 83. 116. 346 ; castle of, ii. 19 ; romantic gorge betwixt the mountains, 19. 21 ; the suburb Xero-Karítana, 22 ; description of the town and castle, 22 ; the name Karítana, 292.
- Kárlili, the musellím of, ii. 152.
- Karmíri, Mount, ii. 260.
- Karnési, village, ii. 107 ; gorge or pass, 109. 256 ; the name similar in sound to Carnasium, 261 ; the river of, 261 ; hill of, 260 ; iii. 181.
- Karteróli, i. 116.
- Kárvela, i. 255. 257.
- Karyá, village and hill of, ii. 413 ; iii. 141.
- Karyátiko, or hill of Karyes, i. 486 ; a high summit of Mount Lycæum, ii. 11. 27 ; its sides grown with oaks and chestnuts, 31. 70.
- Karyés, in the vilayéti of Karítana, i. 486 ; ii. 27. 315.
- Karyópoli, i. 252. 258. 262. 264. 267. 280.
- Kassídhi, ruin of a monument at, iii. 308.
- Kassími, near Sinánu, i. 42.
- Kastaniá in Mani, i. 262. 316. 318. 339 ; iii. 115, 116.
- Mount, ii. 270. 274 ; iii. 103. 125. 148.
- valley, iii. 114.
- Kastánitza, town of, i. 262. 316 ; ii. 504 ; pass of, 523 ; iii. 10.
- Kastéli, village, ii. 256 ; plain of, iii. 209.
- Kastélia, village and remains of antiquity, i. 438. 446.
- Kastrí, village of, ii. 461 ; iii. 16—20.
- Kastrítza, vestiges of a Hellenic fortress at, ii. 117.

Kastrítzi, iii. 17.  
 Kastro Tornese, description of the ruined castle, ii. 171, 172.  
 Katákoló, Cape, i. 11. 21; the ancient Ichthys, ii. 182.  
 ————— skala of, i. 11. 22. 45. 418.  
 Katavóthra, descriptions of various, i. 201; ii. 275. 317. 328; iii. 36—40. 55. 136. 143. 146.  
 Katergáki, i. 299.  
 Katjarú, ii. 235.  
 Katjauniánika, the, i. 271.  
 Katokhóri, i. 130, 131.  
 Katúna, Paleá, ii. 250; river of, 273.  
 Katzána, or Katzánes, river and plain of, ii. 262; gorge of this stream, 264.  
 Katzanó, his pyrgo at Skutári, i. 235. 268. 270.  
 Katzuliá, village, ii. 104.  
 Kavkalídhá, island near Cape Glaréntza, ii. 175.  
 Kazá, i. 44, 45. 87.  
 Kazasi, the, i. 44. 72. 196. 342. 347. 353. 366; of Modón, 429; of Londari, ii. 42.  
 Kefalári, mills of, ii. 338.  
 ————— river of, ii. 340. 343.  
 Kefalokhória, villages thus denominated, i, 148; ii. 110.  
 Kefalonía, island of, i. 309; ii. 16. 141.  
 Kekhriés, port of, iii. 235; bay of, 235. 309.  
 Kélefa, i. 257. 264. 313. 320.  
 Kelefína river, i. 125, 126. 180; ii. 522; iii. 26.  
 Keradjí, or carrier, i. 49.  
 Kerasiá, village of, iii. 35.  
 Keratriés, i. 80.  
 Kerpení, ii. 105. 113; ridge of, iii. 404.  
 Késari, village and valley, iii. 225, 226.  
 Kesíli, village of, iii. 192.  
 Khaiáffa, i. 11. 48. 50, 51. 58. 65, 66, 68.  
 ————— paleó-kastro of, i. 47—53. 427.  
 Khalandrítza, village with several ruined churches, ii. 122.  
 Khánia, i. 207.  
 Kharátj, or capitation tax, i. 69. 132.  
 Khariá, i. 285.

Khartí, annual; or acquittance of all direct taxes, ii. 278.  
 Kharváti, arrival at, ii. 365.  
 Khassiá, village and monastery, ii. 107.  
 ————— river of, iii. 392.  
 Khelmós, description of this great hill, with its aspect in all quarters, i. 82; ii. 43, 108. 113. 236. 257. 262. 265. 277; iii. 20. 23. 40. 168. 172. 182.  
 Khimára, town of, i. 269; ii. 64.  
 Khió, i. 131. 347.  
 Khlemútzi, ridge of rough uncultivated hills, ii. 170; village, and knoll on which stands the Kastro Tornese, 171.  
 Khóriasi, 258.  
 Khósova, ii. 252.  
 Khotmán Oglú, i. 10. 45, 46.  
 Khotússa, village of, ii. 275; iii. 103.  
 Khranápes, i. 217.  
 Khrepa, i. 88. 100. 116, 117.  
 Khristéa Khristódhulo, Captain, i. 315. 318. 320. 476.  
 Khristódhulos, the Proestós, iii. 159.  
 Kinéta, village of, iii. 307, 308.  
 Kiónia, near Mazi, columns from, ii. 169.  
 Kíta, village, i. 336.  
 Kiriés, i. 207. 316, 317. 321. 323, 324. 332. 348.  
 Kivéri, village, ii. 477.  
 Kladhá, zevgaláti, iii. 12.  
 Kleftes, or robbers in the Moréa, i. 380. 474; ii. 152.  
 Kleméndi, village of, iii. 225, 226.  
 Klenes, hamlet near the site of Cleonæ, iii. 325.  
 Klidhi, or key, the, Dervéni so named, i. 58. 484.  
 Klima, village of Mount Kondovúni, i. 395.  
 Klínitza, mountain, ii. 62.  
 Klisúra, i. 75. 78; village of, 387. 484.  
 Klítora, ii. 256.  
 Klítoras, river of, ii. 108.  
 Klokós, mountain, iii. 184; hill and village of, iii. 403.  
 Klukínes, several villages named the, iii. 159, 160. 172; river below the villages is the *Crathis*, 157.

- Klukiniátiko, or Akráta, the river, iii. 157. 160. 174.  
 Knight, Mr., i. 9.  
 Kokhla, dervéni or guard-house of the pass, i. 81. 372; forest of, 397. 482. 484; village of, ii. 96.  
 Kólina, village, ii. 519; iii. 19. 30.  
 Kolokotróni, George, captain of a band of Kleftes, or banditti, i. 385. 474; one of the family slain, ii. 153.  
 Kolokýthia, i. 194.  
 Kolokýthi, i. 264. 308.  
 Kompigádhi, village, ii. 119. 121.  
 Kouak, i. 221.  
 Kondovúni, Mount, i. 73. 74. 77. 78. 366. 382. 395. 426; ii. 12.  
 Kondoazóni, hill near Coryphasium, i. 398. 416.  
 Kondurióti, Captain George, i. 218.  
 Kouidhítza, village, iii. 16.  
 Konstantínus, i. 366. 482.  
 Kóraka, or Potámi, port of, i. 11. 46.  
 Korakolíthi, Mount, a summit of Taygetum, iii. 17.  
 Korombíli, Mount, iii. 314.  
 ———, rocky hill, iii. 381.  
 Koróni, fortress of, i. 80. 240. 251. 312. 354; olive trees, 435; inhabitants, 436; the anchorage, 437.  
 ——— village deriving its name from Coronis, mother of Æsculapius, ii. 420.  
 Koryfí, Mount, ii. 385; iii. 220. 259.  
 Kotrobútzia, hamlet of, iii. 24.  
 Kotýkhi, i. 11. 46; fishery of this lagoon, ii. 168.  
 Krano, i. 481; route from Sinánu to, ii. 297.  
 Krávari, a rocky hill near *Pallantium*, i. 116. 121; ii. 47; iii. 34.  
 ——— a district in *Ætolia*, population diminished by oppressions, ii. 152.  
 Kremastí, ii. 497; iii. 11.  
 Kremidhará, i. 252. 268.  
 Kremídhi, Cape, i. 205. 211. 219.  
 Krevatá, ruin of this opulent family, i. 130; death of Krevatá, 131; *casino*, 150; mansion, 326.  
 ——— khan of, i. 125; iii. 28.  
 Krya Vrysi, hill of, ii. 116; iii. 28.  
 ——— Vrysis, source of the *Alpheius*, i. 123; iii. 42.  
 Kúlogli, ii. 227. 235.  
 Kuma, the summit named, ii. 328.  
 Kumáni, ii. 235.  
 Kúmaro, Mount, i. 248. 254. 260.  
 Kumúnduro Bey, i. 317, 318; his defeat by Tzanét Bey, 332. 334.  
 Kumustá, i. 265.  
 Kunupéli, i. 11. 46; port and ancient remains, ii. 168.  
 Kunúpia, village, iii. 11.  
 Kurtagá, village on Kondovúni, i. 397.  
 Kurtési, village, iii. 325.  
 Kúrtissa, Cape, i. 261. 320, 321. 348.  
 Kurt Tjaus, village of, i. 354.  
 Kurtzolári, rocky peak, ii. 163.  
 Kurtzúna, i. 192. 265.  
 Kuruniós, a village of Mount *Lycaëum*, ii. 27.  
 Kuskúni, village of Mani, i. 336.  
 Kutúfari, John, i. 316.  
 Kutufariua, the, or *Alpheius*, ii. 42.  
 ——— source of the, a tributary of the *Alpheius*, iii. 22.  
 Kutzínú, village of, iii. 23.  
 Kutzomádhi, vineyards of, iii. 336.  
 Kutzopódhi, remains of antiquity at the village of, ii. 387, 388. 394. 415.  
 Kútzova, village of Taygetum, i. 473.  
 Kutzukumáni, i. 353. 358.  
 Kuvalá, i. 75.  
 Kúvelo, pass leading to this village, ii. 114.  
 Kyparíssia, i. 150; village near Karitena, ii. 27; appearances of an ancient site, 28; the torrent Vathýrema, 293. 497.  
 Kypárisso, remarkable vicinity of, i. 261. 288. 290—308.  
 Kyriakí, Aía, i. 135—137. 144—147. 427.  
 Kytriés, i. 237.  
 Kyveláki, Ghiórgio, i. 316.

## L.

- LACEDÆMON, observation of Thucydides respecting the city and public edifices, i. 159; coinage, 223. *See Sparta*.  
 ——— son of Taygete, heroism of, i. 182.

- Lacedæmonia, metropolitan see of, i. 114. 187; the province, 264.
- Lacedæmonian army, constitution of the, iii. 60; battles fought at Mantinea, 60—93.
- Lacedæmonians, held the Helotes in the light of slaves, i. 199; the Dioscuri venerated in Laconia, 345; subject towns, 360; contest at Pylus, 401; martial disposition the result of the institutions of Lycurgus, 461; the Spartans defeated by the Argives, ii. 342; 478; ruggedness of Laconia mainly contributed to the power and inviolability of Sparta, iii. 25; war against Mantinea, and battles before that city, 57. 63. 90; contest with the Athenians and Corinthians at Sicyon, 373.
- Laco, C. J., son of Eurycles, i. 291, 292.
- Laco-Doric, i. 301.
- LACONIA, eastern mountains, i. 121; the *Laconice*, 122; invasion of Philip, 138; invaded by Epaminondas, 143; description by Euripides, 148; Dorian conquest, 163; the roads of, 171; overrun by Pyrrhus, 179; sea-shore, 212; cities of, 226. 278; marble quarries, 249; the coast, 273. 304; products, 324; boundary, 328. 330; earthquakes, 341; territory and possessions, 361—364; the Heracleidæ, 457; ii. 469; tour to Mistrá, iii. 1; Hermæ marking the boundaries and confines, 22; ruggedness of the coast, mountains of the interior, 25; all the passes lead to Sparta, 26; invasion by the Thebans, Argives, and Eleians, 29.
- Laconic, Gulf, i. 194. 301; coast, 213. 302. 304; mythology, 257; promontory, 262; towns, 277. 279; winds, 283; Laconic replies, 325.
- Ladas, tomb of, iii. 15; stadium of, 96.
- Ladocus, son of Echemus, ii. 316.
- Ladon, river, ii. 59; the island of Crows, or Coraconnasus, 90; the Ruféa, 95; ford, 99; beautiful banks, and depth of the stream, 100; description, 105. 228; its source, 235; interesting remarks, 266; course and tributaries, 273; fountains of the Ladon, iii. 139.
- Lady's Bridge, the;—on the river *Ladon*, ii. 105.
- Lafka, under the summit of Skipezi, iii. 114.
- Laganá, village, ii. 227. 231.
- Lághia, i. 263. 273. 308.
- Lago, the river, iii. 408.
- Lago-Potamó, iii. 174, 175.
- Lagoons of recent formation on the coasts of the Moréa, i. 414; ii. 167.
- Lagovúni, mountain, ii. 499.
- Lais, tomb of, iii. 234.
- Lakanádha, village, i. 435.
- Lalla, town of, i. 2. 25. 31. 46. 55; ii. 53; distant view of the town, 71. 202.
- Lálusi, or Lalúsia, village, ii. 122.
- Lambíri, village, iii. 186; bay of, 194; khan of, 194. 210; harbour of, 410. 416.
- Lambrí, or Easter Sunday, i. 351.
- Lambró, Major, i. 236. 255. 271. 307.
- Lamia*, battle at, iii. 199.
- and Auxesia, expedition of the Athenians to Ægina to carry off the statues of, ii. 439.
- Lampeia*, mountain of Arcadia, ii. 62. 183. 237. 253.
- Langádha, town of, i. 320; in the vilayéti of Karitena, ii. 22; river of Langádha, 95.
- Lapersæ, or Dioscuri, i. 257.
- Laphæes of Phlius, statues by, iii. 388.
- Lapi, i. 75.
- Lapithæum* of Taygetum, iii. 3. 5.
- Lapithus, an Arcadian mountain, i. 64. 67, 68. 71.
- Larissa, the, at Argos, ii. 395; accurate polygonal masonry of the fortress, 395; the hill a conspicuous feature of Argos, 399; temples and monuments in the Larissa, 408.
- Larissus, river of the *Eleia*, ii. 166. 170; its sources, 183.
- Larysium, i. 247. 254.
- Las, i. 257. 273, 274, 275. 277. 279.
- Lasion, city of, ii. 200.
- Latona, i. 48. 106. 161. 168. 485.
- Lavdha, the hill of, ii. 18; the two



- villages thus named, near the Alpheius, ii. 19. 25.
- Laura, monastery of St., ii. 109.
- Learchus, i. 169.
- Lechæum*, port and bay of, iii. 232—239. 297. 300—304. 316.
- Leda, i. 168.
- Leftro, i. 262. 315. 320, 321, 322. 331.
- Leghorn, i. 132. 240, 241, 242. 317.
- Lekhená, i. 10. 46; its bazar, and mosque in ruins, ii. 168. 238.
- Lekhúri, ii. 252.
- Leleges, colony of, i. 413.
- Lelex, i. 162.
- Lenidhi, mountain above, ii. 496.
- Leochares, i. 37.
- Leódhoro, or Lódhoro, Greek ruin named the Castle of, ii. 66.
- Leonidæum, i. 38.
- Leonidas, king, i. 164. 175.
- Leontium*, city, iii. 419.
- Lepreatæ, the, i. 60; ii. 196.
- Lepreatis*, ancient district of, i. 59, 60. 484.
- Lepreum*, town of, i. 59, 60. 68; site of, 56.
- Lepreus, i. 63.
- Lerna*, ceremonies in honour of Ceres, called the *Lernæa*, ii. 471; fountain at Corinth, iii. 241. 243.
- Lernæa*, fire carried by the Argives to the, iii. 138.
- Lerne*, ii. 338. 340.
- Lesche, i. 164, 165. 167.
- *Pœcile*, i. 175, 176. 178.
- Lessa*, the mountain *Arachnæum* above, ii. 417; valley of *Lessa*, 419.
- Lestenítza, river of, i. 24; valley of, 25.
- Letrini*, the site of, i. 22; lagoon of, ii. 167; vestiges at the village of St. John, 187.
- Leucæ*, i. 279. *See Leuce*.
- Leucas*, i. 138.
- Leucasia*, the river, i. 390. 481
- Leucasium*, vestiges of, ii. 272.
- Leuce*, site of this town in the plain of Finíki, i. 201. 226—230; iii. 10.
- Leucippus, i. 369, 370.
- Leucone, monument of, and fountain *Leuconius*, ii. 318.
- Leucothea, the goddess Ino, i. 440; iii. 239. 291.
- Leuctrum*, or *Leuctra*, site of the town of, ii. 322.
- victory of the Thebans at *Leuctra*, under Epaminondas, i. 103. 143. 183. 307. 328—331; iii. 255.
- Leucyanias*, torrent, ii. 195. 208.
- Levant, the, i. 347.
- Levanter, i. 283. 320.
- Levidhi, village of, ii. 276. 278; plain of, 275. 277.
- Lichas, the Lacedæmonian, ii. 332.
- Ligúdhista, i. 248.
- Liméni, the port of Tzimova, i. 312. 316.
- Lime-stone, ancient buildings of, ii. 5; temple of Jupiter at Olympia of a conchite lime-stone, 6.
- Limnæ*, the ancient, i. 360. 363, 364, 365. 461.
- Limnæum*, i. 168. 177. 287.
- Limnataæ, the, i. 175. 177.
- Limóna, a village, i. 232.
- Linístena, a large village of Mount Fanarítiko, ii. 15.
- Lion, cave of the Nemeian, iii. 327. 329.
- Liópesi, village of, iii. 354.
- Líva, or government, i. 44, 45.
- Livárzi, village of, ii. 252.
- Livy quoted, i. 172. 183. 280.
- Lochi, or divisions of the Lacedæmonian troops, iii. 61. 66.
- Loghí, village and pyrgo, i. 396.
- Londári, town of, i. 81. 115. 346. 354. 372. 485; population of the town and description of the district, ii. 42—44. 323; iii. 17. 21.
- Longa, village in the district of Koróni, i. 438.
- Longaníko, village of, iii. 20.
- Longástra, town, i. 125. 150.
- Longo-Potamó, iii. 228.
- Longovárdho, river, i. 428.
- Lópesi, village, ii. 121. 240.
- Loti, village of, ii. 94.
- Love, temple and grove of, i. 328.
- Lúbista, mountain of, iii. 194.
- Lucina, temples of, statues, &c., i. 39. 93. 165. 369; ii. 37. 460; temple and statue at Ægium, iii. 188; temple near Tenea, 321.
- Lukávitzá, village of, ii. 226.
- Luku, monastery of, ii. 486, 487. 517.
- river of, ii. 486. 511.



*Lusi*, town of, in the neighbourhood of the Styx, and Nonacris, iii. 168; temple of Diana, 179; site, 181.

*Lusiatæ*, the, iii. 130.

*Lusius*, or *Gortynius*, river, fable respecting it, ii. 290.

*Lutra*, the Bath of Helene, iii. 320.

—— *Paleá*, i. 356, 357. 361.

*Lycæan Games*, the, ii. 310. 314.

*Lycæum*, Mount, i. 76. 78, 79. 82. 357. 486. 491; ii. 10; the lofty round summit Mount *Dhiofórti* is the proper *Lycæum*, 19; remains of antiquity, 27; description of the *Lycæan* mountains, 70; temple of Pan, 310.

*Lycaon*, i. 93.

*Lycimnius*, son of *Electryon*, ii. 354.

*Lycoa*, site of, ii. 52; remains of, 304; properly *Lycæa*, iii. 41.

*Lycone*, peaked mountain, iii. 341.

*Lycosura*, walls of, and temple of Pan; the most ancient city, ii. 309; ruins discovered by Mr. Dodwell, 312.

*Lycurgus*, lawgiver, of Sparta, i. 158. 166. 170.

—— king of Sparta, i. 139. 141. 362; iii. 9.

*Lycuria*, iii. 143.

*Lycus* of *Pharæ*, iii. 420.

*Lydiades*, of *Megalopolis*, ii. 77.

*Lykódhemo*, Mount, i. 366. 398; anciently *Temathia*, 435.

*Lykórema*, pass of, iii. 129. 134.

*Lykovúni*, i. 191—193.

*Lykureíko*, the, or river of *Lykúria*, ii. 266.

*Lykúria*, *kefalokhóri*, ii. 266; iii. 143.

—— hill, iii. 141. 148. 151.

*Lykurió*, Hellenic walls on the *Anápli* road, ii. 418; site of *Lesas*, 419.

*Lymar*, the, a tributary stream to the river *Neda*, i. 491. ii. 10; its rise, 16.

*Lynceus*, history of *Hypermnestra* and of, i. 163; their tomb, 405. 413.

*Lyrceia*, road to, ii. 413.

*Lycrus*, statue of, ii. 414.

*Lyres*, ancient, ii. 250; of the shell of tortoises, 332.

*Lysander* of Sparta, i. 169.

## M.

*MACARIA*, i. 352.

*Macarius*, i. 291. 293. 294.

*Macedonians*, i. 179. 273. 280.

*Machærión*, account of him, iii. 82.

*Machanidas*, account of his being defeated and slain by *Philopœmen*, iii. 87 *et seqq.*

*Machaon*, i. 329. 345. 370.

*Macistia*, i. 58. 65. 485.

*Macistii*, the, i. 59.

*Macistus*, or *Platanistus*, i. 60. 428; ii. 205.

*Mæander*, river, i. 147. 440.

*Mæandrus*, river, i. 491.

*Mænalia*, a division of *Arcadia*, iii. 33.

*Mænalii*, the, ii. 320; iii. 61.

*Mænaliûm*, the Plain, ii. 305.

*Mænalus*, city, ii. 52; road from *Megalopolis* to, 302; ruins of, 304; hippodrome and stadium, 306.

—— Mountain, or the *Mænaliûm*, i. 88. 99. 107—118; the mountain pass near *Tripolitzá*, ii. 51; its pines and firs, 55; its snow, 275; the hill is sacred to the god Pan, 303, 304.

*Mæra*, iii. 97.

*Maestrale*, wind, i. 450.

*Magnesia*, city of, i. 147; ii. 23.

*Magúla*, i. 150. 157. 175. 183.

*Magulianá*, village of, ii. 22. 274; the river is the *Mylaon*, 56. 58.

*Mahmúd Agá*, i. 341.

*Mahomet the Second*, ii. 45. 172. 275; iii. 17; his conquests in the *Moréa*, 191.

*Maina*, i. 307, 308. *See Mani.*

*Maize*, i. 15.

*Maíni*, i. 186. 264. 307. 425.

*Makhelería*, the pass of, ii. 118. 123.

*Makhó*, hamlet of, ii. 176.

*Makryaráki*, or the Long Ridge, i. 251. 255. 259.

*Makrynó*, i. 252. 261. 321.

*Makryplághi*, or *Makryplái*, mountain, i. 78. 346. 354. 372. 388. 481.

*Malæa*, a town of the *Ægytis*, ii. 322.

*Maléa*, Cape, i. 205. 213. 215. 226. 278. 310.

- Malekiané, i. 46.  
 Málevo, Mount, i. 88. 124; ii. 56. 511; iii. 17. 337.  
 Malévri, i. 257. 263.  
*Mallus*, river, unites with the *Syrus*, ii. 295.  
 Malmsey wine, so named from Malvasía, or Monemvasía, i. 205.  
*See Monemvasía.*  
 Malcetas, or Molottus, river, ii. 58. 301.  
 Malta, i. 70. 348.  
 Malvasía, i. 205.  
 Mamalúka, village of, ii. 107.  
*Mamaus*, river, ii. 85.  
 Mánari, village of, iii. 35.  
 Mandhra, or sheepfold, i. 488.  
 Mandínia, Paleá, i. 324. 331, 332.  
 ———— Megáli, 324.  
 Mánesi, village, ii. 115.  
 Mani, imposts and monopolies retained by the bey, i. 132; frontier of this division of the Moréa, 195; its eastern coast, 200; pacification of Mani, 209; Andón Bey, and Tzanét Bey, of Mani, 234. 269; the Gligoraki family, 235. 269; state of society, 237. 270; the Maniátes and their style of warfare, 239; agricultural produce and exports, 241, 242; population, 243; Cape Matapán, 252; pyrgo of a Maniate chief, 253; prinokokki gathered on the hills, 258; observance of fasts, 259; district of Mesa Mani, or land of Evil Counsel, 260. 262; number of towns and villages stated, 263; Kato Mani and Exo Mani, 263; bishoprics, 264; disposition of the Maniate women, 270; traits of a Kakavuliote chieftain, 283. 290; district of Tzímova, 285; promontories and harbour, 286; interesting ruins at Kypárisso, 290; description of the coasts of Mani, 294; Cape *Tænarum*, or Matapán, 299. 301; Maniate honey, 305; the Kakavuliotes described, 308; captaincies and captains of Mani, 315; best district of Mani, 318; modern Greek poem describing the manners and the geography of, 332—339.  
 Maniæ, the goddesses called, (the Eumenides,) ii. 293.  
 Manners, state of, ii. 177.  
 Manthurenses, the, i. 96. 120.  
 Manthuric plain, the, ii. 47.  
 MANTINEIA, general description of the public buildings of the ancient city, its history, &c., i. 88. 99—115. 324. 377; level site of the new city, ii. 41; description of the *Mantinice*, iii. 45; roads from Argos, 46.  
 ———— interesting details of the memorable battles of, i. 107; the first action, iii. 57—67; the second action, 76—84; the third action, 87—93; Agesipolis overturns the walls by a stratagem, 69, 70; rebuilding of the city, 71; the polygonal masonry, 72; retreat of Agesilaus from before the walls, 73, 74; victory of Demetrius Poliorcetes, 84; death of Agis IV. king of Sparta, 85; temple of Neptune, and trophy, 85; ruins of the ancient Mantinea, or Ptolis, 96.  
 Mantinenses, i. 95. 107; ii. 41.  
 Mantinic plain, ii. 279; the great, iii. 54.  
 MANTINICE, approaches from the Isthmus of Corinth to the, i. 102. 109; iii. 45.  
 Map of Messenia, i. 392.  
 Maratha, village, ii. 289.  
 Marathon, battle of, ii. 330.  
 Marathonísi, its anchorage, i. 225; sea port and fortress, 234; chief inhabitants, 235. 240. 253; the customs, 243; the island, [*Cranæ*] 247; site of *Migonium*, 248; scarlet dye an export, 250.  
 ———— or Fennel island, i. 400.  
 Marble, white, temples of this material have particularly suffered by the masons of modern times converting the marble into stucco, ii. 27.  
 Marbles and Antiquities of the British Museum, ii. 5.  
 Mardonius, i. 161.  
*Marganæ*, town of, ii. 193.  
 Marí, Kato, answering to the site of *Marius*, iii. 11.  
 Mariem Sultana, ii. 347.  
 Marína, i. 486, 487.  
*Marius*, town of the Eleuthero-Iacones, iii. 6; Kato Marí, 11.  
 Márkasi, village of, iii. 224. 226.

- Mármara, Sta, Hellenic ruins called the, ii. 515. 516. 524.  
 ——— iii. 40. 42.  
 Marmári, Porto, i. 295.  
 Mármaro, i. 77. 486.  
 Marmax, tomb of the horses of, ii. 209.  
 Maro and Alpheius, i. 163.  
 Mars, the god, i. 93. 182; altar of, ii. 37.  
 ——— *Aphneius*, temple of, ii. 318.  
 Marsyas, i. 106.  
 Mases, site at Kiládhia, ii. 463.  
 Masonry, Hellenic, and remarkable wrought stones in Grecian walls and ruins: bridge of Mavrozúmeno, i. 480; the second order of ancient masonry at *Phigaleia*, 497; in the castle of St. Helene, ii. 18; polygonal order in the walls of *Gortys*, 25; fortifications on the hill of *Platíaná* of the third order of masonry, 82; durability, 180; Hellenic polygonal, 339; masonry styled Cyclopian, 350. 365; dimensions of some large wrought stones, 371; fine specimen of the second order of, 395.  
 Matapán, southern cape of Europe, i. 237. 262. 277. 292 — 310. 324.  
 Matésh, village near Lavdha, ii. 66.  
 MavraVuná, or Black Hills, ii. 159. 160.  
 ——— Lithária, the Black Rocks, iii. 387. 390.  
 Mavriá, a village near the *Alpheius*, or river of *Karítana*, ii. 27.  
 Mavrióro, mountain above Pellene, iii. 220. 223. 392.  
 Mavrokúrla, i. 193.  
 Mavromáti, village of, i. 75; ancient vestiges, 367; rivulet, 376. 381; inscription, 383; fortifications of *Messene*, 392. 395.  
 Mavromikhali, Gika, i. 280. 282. 284. 290. 295. 305. 315.  
 ——— Kyr Petro, i. 312. 316—318.  
 Mavro-potamó, i. 54.  
 Mavrovúni, castle of Tzanét Bey at this village, i. 251. 253; prospect from it, 254. 323.  
 Mavroyéni, interpreter, i. 209.  
 Mavrozúmeno, river, i. 357. 359. 372. 478. 481. 483.  
 Mavrozúmeno, bridge of, description, i. 479. 480.  
 Mazeítika Kalývia, ii. 108. 257. 262.  
 Mazi, village of, ii. 168. 257. 262.  
 Medeia, iii. 240.  
 Medes, the, i. 161; iii. 198.  
 Medici, family of, i. 450.  
 Medusa, tumulus said to contain the head of, ii. 406.  
 MEGALOPOLIS, capital of Arcadia, i. 81—85. 116. 121. 123. 156. 371 *et seq.*; ii. 20; picturesque valley and site of the great city, 28 *et seq.*; enormous theatre, 32. 39; edifices, and the stadium, 37. 39; source, 36. 39; masonry of an interesting bridge of antiquity, 38; walls and circumference, 42; roads from Megalopolis to all the surrounding cities, comparison of the ancient and modern localities, 289.  
 Megalopolitans, i. 120. 493.  
 Meganítes, river, iii. 185.  
 Megara, city of, iii. 262. 306. 308.  
 Megaspílio, great convent formed out of a cavern, ii. 111; metókhi of this convent, 165; architectural contrivances of this curious monastery, iii. 176. 211.  
 Mehmét Aga, a dehli bashi, i. 203.  
 ——— commandant of Mo-thóni, i. 430.  
 ——— of Patra, ii. 146.  
 Mehmét-Pashá, named Vanli, i. 86.  
 Meilichus, stream, ii. 138; iii. 413. 417.  
 Mekka, Kaaba of, i. 45.  
 Melæncæ, site of, ii. 66. 92; deserted town, ii. 289.  
 Melaneus, founder of Æchalia, i. 456.  
 Melangávi, or Black Cape, on which stood the Heræum of Juno Acræa, iii. 314. 380.  
 Melangeia, iii. 46.  
 Meláos, i. 201.  
 Meleager, i. 95.  
 Meletius, errors of this author, ii. 62.  
 Meliastæ, fountain of the; temple and orgies of Bacchus, iii. 46.  
 Melicertes, or Palæmon, altar of, iii. 289; statue, 290.  
 Melígala, i. 78.  
 Meligú, town of, ii. 483. 510.  
 ——— huts of the Melighiótika kalývia, ii. 494.

- Melissi, i. 253.  
*Melpeia*, melody of the pipe discovered at, ii. 311.  
 Memnonian, i. 368.  
 Memphis, pyramids of, ii. 2.  
 Menelais, plane-tree and fountain: the tree planted by Menelaus, iii. 120.  
 Menelaïum, i. 138—141. 178 ; Mount, 191.  
 Menelaus, house of, i. 165. 182. 199. 201 ; his cities, 454.  
 ——— shield taken by him from Euphorbus, ii. 389.  
 Menzil, the, i. 49.  
 Mercury, birth of the god, iii. 116.  
 ——— *Acacesius*, temple of, ii. 33.  
 ——— *Cyllenius*, temple of, iii. 139. 222.  
 Mesolónghi, its currant plantations, ii. 141 ; derivation of the name, 163.  
 Mesorúghi, village of, iii. 159. 169.  
*Messatis*, ii. 126 ; its situation, 137.  
*Messe*, or *Messa*, i. 287.  
 Messeis, fountain called, i. 182.  
*Messene*, description of the city and existing ruins, i. 287. 366—383 ; wars with Lacedæmon, 461 ; the new town founded, 472 ; its walls, 473.  
 ——— daughter of Triopus, i. 369. 456. 481.  
 MESSENA, chapter on this province, i. 78 ; wheat crops, 322 ; boundary, 328, 329. 363. 365 ; exports, 348 ; Messenian valley, 352 ; ancient cities, 360. 453. 457 ; invasion, 362 ; re-establishment of Messenian independence, 363 ; five divisions of Messenia, 364 ; the great Messenian plain, 325. 354. 358. 372. 382 ; ancient geography, 389 ; map, 392, topographical descriptions, 425 *et seq.* ; summary of the wars with Sparta, 461 *et seq.* ; the *Aulon* of Messenia, or valley of Kokhla, described, 484 ; iii. 227.  
 Messenians, history and other particulars of the, i. 328. 360—371. 393. 461—471 ; ii. 14.  
*Messoa*, a quarter of *Sparta*, i. 287.  
 Messoata, the, i. 175. 177.  
*Messola*, i. 453. 457. 459.  
 Metayer, system of cultivation by the, ii. 144, 145.  
*Methana*, peninsula of, ii. 442.  
 ——— or *Methone*, ii. 453.  
 Methe, or Intoxication, painting of, ii. 421.  
*Methone*. See *Mothóni*. i. 428. 432.  
*Methydrium*, important town of Arcadia, ii. 57. 59 ; route from Megalopolis, 299 ; founded by Orchomenus, 300.  
 Metókhí, i. 366.  
 Metrophanes, i. 214.  
 Metroum, or temple of the Mother of the Gods at Olympia, i. 35, 36. 38.  
 Mezapó, i. 280. 286, 287. 310.  
*Mideia*, situation of, ii. 418.  
 Migionium, i. 247, 248.  
 Mikrí Mandínia, i. 324.  
 Mila, i. 78, 79.  
 Miléa, town of, i. 261—264. 316. 320. 339.  
 Milesii, the, i. 320.  
 Miliá, i. 261.  
 Military architecture, ii. 386 ; specimen of a perfect Hellenic fortress, 419.  
 ——— force of the Moréa in 1805-6, ii. 283.  
 Milo, i. 200.  
 Mina, village of, i. 287. 346.  
 Minerva, temple and statue of the goddess at Sparta, i. 162, 163 ; her temple and statue at Alipheira, ii. 75. 77. 79 ; intaglio of the goddess armed, 80 ; temple at Tritæa, 118 ; temple and statue at Dyme, 162 ; at Epidaurus, 212 ; at Gythium, 246 ; statue of Minerva wounded, with the purple bandage, 290 ; iii. 265 ; sculpture on the Panhellenium of Ægina, ii. 466 ; iii. 238 ; temples, 363 ; statue at Ægeira, 388.  
 ——— temples and statues of the goddess under various denominations, and local dedications :—  
 ——— *Agoræa*, i. 161.  
 ——— *Alea*, celebrated temple of, i. 92—107. 143. 300. 328 ; ii. 6.  
 ——— *Anemotis*, temple and statue, i. 432.



- Minerva *Asia*, i. 273, 274.  
 ——— *Ariopænus*, i. 167.  
 ——— *Celeutheia*, i. 162.  
 ——— *Chalcivæcus*, temple in the  
     Acropolis of Sparta, i. 169. 446.  
 ——— *Chalinitis*, iii. 240. 249.  
 ——— *Cissæa*, remarkable wood-  
     en statue of, ii. 430.  
 ——— *Coria*, ii. 260.  
 ——— *Coryphæa*, ii. 418.  
 ——— *Cyparissia*, i. 72. 226.  
 ——— *Ergane*, i. 169.  
 ——— *Hippia*, i. 96.  
 ——— *Machanitis*, ii. 303.  
 ——— *Ophthalmitis*, i. 170.  
 ——— *Oxyderces*, ii. 410.  
 ——— *Panachais*, temple and  
     statue, ii. 128.  
 ——— *Pareia*, statue, iii. 14.  
 ——— *Polias*, her temple at  
     Athens, ii. 5.  
 ——— *Poliatis*, i. 93.  
 ——— *Saïtis*, temple of, ii. 174.  
 ——— *Salpinx*, ii. 406.  
 ——— *Sciatis*, ii. 299.  
 ——— *Soteira*, temple on Mount  
     Boreium, iii. 34.  
 ——— *Sthenias*, ii. 445.  
 ——— *Tritonia*, iii. 136.  
 ——— the fort of, iii. 416.  
 Minoa, i. 210. 212—215.  
*Minthe*, the hill of, i. 59. 68 ; ii.  
     71.  
 Minyæ, i. 67.  
 Minyas, treasury of, at the Bœotian  
     Orchomenus, ii. 378 ; its con-  
     struction and key-stone, 379.  
*Minyæus*, the river, i. 60. 65. 419.  
     421.  
 Miráka, village of, i. 25. 32 ; ii.  
     211.  
 Mirrors, Greek, ii. 131.  
 Mistrá, town of, i. 125 ; local go-  
     vernment, 126 ; the castle, 127 ;  
     Misokhóri and Katokhóri, 130 ;  
     the inhabitants, 149 ; name of  
     Mistrá, 186 ; produce, 196 ; cy-  
     presses, 218 ; merchants, 250 ;  
     the bishop, 258 ; inscription,  
     287 ; family of Krevatá, 326 ;  
     earthquakes, 341. 347 ; ii. 282 ;  
     Castle of Mistrá revisited, iii. 1 ;  
     the town on the site of *Messe*,  
     5 ; inscription suggesting this  
     idea, 6 ; important post, 27.  
 Mocenigo, Aloys, his tower at the  
     great port of Ægina, ii. 439.  
 Mohámmed Bey, i. 191.  
 Molaítiko Pyrgo, i. 228.  
 Moláos, i. 222.  
 Moldavia, i. 209.  
*Molottus*, river, ii. 58.  
*Molyeria*, an Ætolian town situated  
     on the cape *Antirrhium*, ii. 150.  
 Monemvasía, wheat, i. 196 ; the  
     hills, 201, 202 ; origin of the  
     name of this fortress, 203 ; the  
     bay, 205 ; visit to Paleá Mo-  
     nemvasia, the ruins of *Epidau-  
     rus Limera*, 210 ; the port, 211.  
     213. 215 ; sepulchres of the Epi-  
     daurii, 216 ; the citadel, 218 ;  
     Turkish proprietors, 221 ; eccle-  
     siastical province, 264. 307.  
 Money, table of Greek, i. 16.  
 Monks in the Moréa, their condi-  
     tion and possessions, i. 385.  
 Monoládhá, village, and tower ap-  
     proached by a draw-bridge, ii.  
     167.  
 MOREA, the establishment of a  
     Frank principality, Venetians  
     and French, i. 10 ; Móra, or the  
     Moréa, governed by a vezír, 45 ;  
     its towers, or pyrgi, 50 ; date  
     of the name Moréa for the Pelo-  
     ponnesus, 186. 425 ; Greek anec-  
     dote, 188 ; buffaloes, 197 ; salt-  
     petre, 200 ; insurrection, 208 ;  
     Albanian costume, 209, 210 ;  
     price of wheat, 218. 341 ; Italian  
     nomenclature of the harbours,  
     219. 306 ; population of Maní  
     and of the Moréa, 243, 244 ;  
     system of government, 272 ;  
     commerce, 324 ; inland trade,  
     346.  
 ——— march of Mahomet II.  
     through it in 1458, ii. 275 ; his  
     conquests, iii. 191.  
 ——— account of the Pashalik,  
     ii. 346, 347.  
 ——— Pasha of the, execution  
     commanded by him, iii. 338.  
 ——— castle of the, ii. 147 ; iii.  
     414 ; it is called Kastéli, iii. 195.  
 Morno, river, near 'Epakto, ii.  
     148.  
 Morritt of Rokeby, Mr., i. 313.  
 Mostenítza, village of, ii. 239. 241.  
 Mostítza, torrent and orchards of  
     this village, ii. 255, 256.  
 Mostó, lake of, ii. 483 ; river, 484 ;  
     the marsh, 495.  
 Mother of the Gods, the, i. 163.  
     231. 369 ; her temple at Mega-



- Iopolis, ii. 33; altar, 308; roofless temple, ii. 317; temple, iii. 241.
- Mothóni, i. 131; expedition against, 208; district, 429; the sea-port and fortifications, 430.
- Moukhla, bishop of, i. 114, 115.
- Movri, Mount, a root of 'Olono, ii. 155. 165. 184.
- Mukatá, i. 11.
- Mukátasi, i. 14, 15.
- Mukhla, or Mokhlí, ruins of, ii. 335; captured by Mahomet II., 336.
- Mulki, tower of, iii. 382.
- Mulberry plantations, ii. 50; garden at Lekhená, 169.
- Mullet, the gray, i. 440; ii. 100.
- Mummius, Lucius, i. 364; marble inscribed with his name, ii. 48.
- , capture of Corinth by, iii. 231. 292.
- Munychia*, iii. 232.
- Museum, or Sanctuary of the Muses, at Trœzen, ii. 443.
- Muses, statues of the, i. 169. 369; ii. 36, 37.
- Museum, British, frieze from Basæ, ii. 5.
- Music, the influence of, iii. 129.
- Mustafá Agá, i. 3. 46. 50; ii. 71.
- Bey, of Koróni, i. 436.
- Pashá, made prisoner at Abukír, iii. 409.
- MYCENÆ, city of, i. 256; the description by Pausanias accords with actual appearances, ii. 365; position on a rugged height, 366; the extant ruins date from the Heroic ages, 369; the Gate of Lions, 365. 369; the Spiliá, or treasury, 374; breccia stone of the ruins, 376; excavations by Lord Elgin and Mr. Cocke-rell, 373. 377; similar treasures, 382—384; they are called the Fúrni, or Ovens, 385.
- Mylaon*, river, receives the *Nus*, the *Achelous*, the *Celadus*, and *Naphilus*, ii. 58. 301. 311. 316.
- or *Molottus*, ii. 271.
- Myron of Priene, i. 461.
- Myropolis, the stoa so named, ii. 34.
- Myrsinus*, town of the Epeii, ii. 169. 182.
- Myrtia, village of, i. 22.
- Myrtilus, sepulchre of, iii. 137.
- Myrtle, fable of Phædra's, ii. 445.
- Myrtoessa, statue of this nymph, ii. 35.
- Myrtuntium*, the Homeric *Myrsinus*, ii. 169. 182.
- Mysæum*, festival in honour of Ceres at, iii. 219. 223.
- Mysia*, and temple of Ceres *Mysia*, ii. 392.
- Mytilíni, i. 317.
- Myzithrá, i. 186. 307. 425.

## N.

- NABIS, i. 173. 178. 280; ii. 525; his battle fought against Philopœmen, iii. 89.
- Naia, i. 275.
- Napoleon, the Emperor, i. 314.
- Nasi, the place named, ii. 270, 271; explanation of this word, 272; sources of the river Tragus at, iii. 119. 122.
- Navarín, or Navaríno, i. 70. 74. 344. 366. 399; visit to the fortress of Neókastro, 400; name explained, 411; iii. 186. *See Pylus*.
- Naupactus*, town of, i. 369. 371. 471; strait of, iii. 208.
- Nauplia*, iii. 232. *See Anápli*.
- Naxia, island, i. 310.
- Neda*, sources and tributaries of the river, i. 56—59. 72. 73. 76. 345. 371. 469. 485—492; ii. 10. 15.
- the nymph, ii. 35. 310.
- Nedon, i. 344, 345.
- Neith, held in honour at Sais, ii. 473.
- Neleus and the Pelasgi occupy *Pylus*, i. 413. 456.
- tomb of, iii. 291.
- Nemea, grove of, i. 34; river, iii. 228. 373; the plain and great temple of Jupiter, also vestiges of the Stadium, 330.
- Nemeian forest, the, iii. 329.
- games, the, iii. 327. 333.
- Neókastro, fortress of, i. 74; aqueduct of, 398; the skála, 399; the fortress, 400.
- Neokhóri, with a pyrgo of Shem-seddín Bey, i. 258. 267; ii. 170. 326, 327.
- Neptune, his temple at Mantinea, i. 102. 111; the Lake of Neptune, 247; statue, 299; temple

- and grove at Tanarum, 300.  
 302; temple at Messene, 369;  
 temples on *Rhium* and *Antirrhium*, ii. 150; picture, 189; fable respecting the dryness of the Argolic plain, 367. 458; oaken temple, iii. 49; the Posidium near Mantinea, 85; at Orchomenus, 100. 317; his temples frequently stood on capes, 111; destruction of Helice and Bura ascribed to the anger of Neptune, 154; his statues at Lechaëum and at Cenchreïæ, 233—239; his contention with Apollo for Corinthus; his temple at the Isthmus, 248; description of the Posidonium, 286—292; the temple burnt, 317; statue of Neptune at Helice; his anger against that city, 400.  
 ——— *Asphalius*, i. 161.  
 ——— *Domatites*, i. 166.  
 ——— *Epoptas*, ii. 38.  
 ——— *Gæauchus*, i. 144. 174. 182. 246; temple at Sparta, iii. 2.  
 ——— *Genesisius*, ii. 477. 481.  
 ——— *Genethlius*, i. 167.  
 ——— *Heliconius*, iii. 211; venerated by the Ionians, iii. 401.  
 ——— *Hippius*, ii. 58; iii. 49. 136.  
 ——— *Hippocurius*, i. 165.  
 ——— *Phytalmius*, ii. 447.  
 ——— *Prosclystius*, ii. 406.  
 ——— *Samius*, temple of, i. 59, 60. 428.  
 ——— *Tanarius*, temenus, i. 162; temple, 300.  
 Nereides, the nymphs, iii. 291.  
 Nereus, i. 246. 329.  
 Neris, town, ii. 478. 493. 510.  
 Nero, the Emperor, i. 42; ii. 474: revolution effected by him in the condition of Greece, iii. 204, 205; his attempt to cut a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth, 298, *et seq.*  
 Neróvitza, castle of, a Hellenic site, ii. 68; delineation of the fortress, 72; ruins of Aliphera, 74. 79; the hill of Neróvitza, 81.  
 Nestane, village of; camp of Philip son of Amyntas, iii. 47. 54. 62; hill of, 81.  
 Nestor, i. 329. 370; house and monument of the king of Pylus, 413; juvenile exploits, 418. 456; his battle with the Arcadians, ii. 191. 199.  
 Nezerá, pass of, ii. 118; village called Great Nezerá, 120.  
 Nicephorus Gregoras, i. 307.  
 Nicetas, Captain of the Kleftes, i. 205. 215; iii. 21. 36.  
 Nicholas, St., a high peaked mountain near Neócastro, i. 428; monastery of, iii. 20.  
 Nicias, i. 370; painting by, ii. 118.  
 ——— Athenian commander, iii. 309, 310.  
 Nicippe, i. 107.  
 Nicomachus, i. 344.  
 Nicomedes, i. 370.  
 Nicopolis, colony founded by Augustus, ii. 124. 127.  
 Nicostratus, defeats the Macedonians under Androstenes, iii. 112.  
 Nightingales, in the Peloponnesus, ii. 80.  
 Niko, Kyr, of Vyzítza, ii. 97.  
 Nikoráki, Konstantíno, i. 315.  
 Nile, its origin in Æthiopia, ii. 245.  
 Nimnítza, stream descending from, ii. 56; ancient walls, 57; mountain above the village, 58.  
 Nisi, town of, i. 74. 197. 348. 353, 354. 358. 365. 380. 476; river of, or the Great River, i. 482.  
 Nomia, i. 287. 310; mountains and temple of Pan Nomius, ii. 311. 315.  
 Nomian mountains, the, ii. 27. 311. 315.  
 Nonacris, *Dipenæ*, and *Calliæ*, the townships of the Tripolis, ii. 303.  
 ——— in Arcadia, near the river Styx, iii. 156. 162. 164, 165.  
 ——— daughter of Lycaon, iii. 165.  
 Notará of Tríkkala, proprietor of currant plantations, ii. 348.  
 ———, Dr., iii. 221. 264.  
 ———, Panútzto, his library, iii. 221.  
 ———, Sotiráki, iii. 221.  
 Notená, monastery of, ii. 234.  
 Nuri Bey, of Corinth, i. 341; ii. 114. 117. 227; iii. 257—263. 285; refuses permission to the

Author to visit the Acro-Corinthus, iii. 257; his palace, 261; his possessions, 336.  
 Nussa, river of, ii. 241.  
*Nymphas*, sources, ii. 294. 297.  
*Nymphasia*, fountain, iii. 118.

## O.

- OAKS, forests of the Mantinic Plain, ii. 334.  
 ———: the forest Scotita, ii. 515. 524.  
 Oak trees, dwarf, ii. 20; forest, ii. 159; the ancient forest *Soron*, 249; various kinds in Arcadia, iii. 51; the oak of Dodona, 120.  
 Octavia, sister of Augustus, temple of, iii. 238. 244.  
 Odeium at Patræ, ii. 128. 133; of Herodes at Athens, 128.  
 ——— at Corinth, iii. 240.  
 Odyssey, quotations from the, i. 450.  
*Œa*, in the island of Ægina, ii. 439.  
*Œantheia*, town of, iii. 387.  
*Œbalus*, i. 167.  
*Œbotas*, distich upon his statue at Olympia, ii. 162.  
*Œchalia*, i. 391. 454, 455.  
*Œdipus* exposed by Laius, iii. 321.  
*Œniadæ* in Acarnania, iii. 132.  
*Œnoe*, or *Bænoe*, near the river Peneius, i. 7; ii. 193.  
 ——— the mountain Artemisium above, with a temple of Diana, ii. 412, 413.  
 ——— fortress of, iii. 314—320.  
*Œnomaus*, sepulchre at Olympia, and stable of, i. 29.  
*Œnus*, i. 181. See *Babyca*. The river, [or the Kelefína,] ii. 531; iii. 26.  
*Œnuæ*, islands, i. 433. 443.  
*Œtylus*, i. 300. 302. 313. 327. 330.  
 Oil, the produce of Filiatrâ, i. 74; of Mothóni, 433; exported from Koróni, 437.  
*Olbius*, river, iii. 117; trench dug by Hercules, 136. 142.  
*Olenus*, Bishop of, i. 10.  
 ——— Mount, the sources of the Peirus and Selinus rivers, ii. 254; site of the town, ii. 121. 156.  
 Oligarchies and democracies of ancient Greece, iii. 203.  
*Oligyrtus*, remains of the castle of, iii. 114; mountain and pass, 129. 134.  
 Olive tree, called *Strepte*, twisted by Hercules, ii. 417.  
*Olmiæ*, Cape, iii. 314.  
*Oloño*, range of mountains, i. 4. 24. 128; ii. 114; the highest summit, 118; easiest ascent to it, 121; various summits described, 184, 185. 195.  
*Olurus*, a maritime castle dependent on Pellene, i. 484; iii. 224.  
*Olympia*, i. 4. 23—33. 35; ruins at, 32. 40—44. 58. 369. 491.  
 Olympiad of Coræbus, i. 8.  
*Olympias*, the fountain, ii. 291.  
*Olympus*, i. 142; the Sacred Summit, ii. 310; it is Mount Dhiofórti, or Lycaëum Proper, 313.  
 Omblos, monastery of, ii. 123.  
 Omer Tjáus, gardens of this village, iii. 325.  
 Omphalion, i. 370.  
 Oncus, ruler in *Onceium*, ii. 102.  
 Oneia, the mountains, iii. 307. 311.  
*Oneium*, or *Geraneia*, mountain, its passes seized by Peisias the Argive leader, iii. 255, 256. 311.  
 Onugnathus, Cape, i. 215. 226, 227.  
 Opheltēs and Lycurgus, sepulchres of, iii. 327.  
*Ophis*, Agesipolis turning this river against the walls of Mantinea overthrows them, i. 103; ii. 280; iii. 56. 70; katavóthra of this stream, ii. 54.  
*Opus*, town of, ii. 202. 204.  
 Oracle, Delphic, i. 180. 469; iii. 82.  
*Orchomenia*, the, i. 101; embankment and chasm at Nasi, iii. 119. 127, 128.  
*Orchomenus*, the site, ii. 276; ancient city, iii. 99; the lake, 99; the plain, 96. 99; the northern plain, 102.  
 ——— of Bœotia, treasury of Minyas, ii. 378.  
*Orchomenus*, founds *Methydrium*, ii. 59.  
 Orders observable in the Hellenic masonry of different ages and perfection: the second, or polygonal order, walls of *Gortys*, ii. 25. See *Masonry*.

- Orestes, i. 161. 247; insane, ii. 293, 294; sepulchre of; his bones removed to Sparta, 332; tent of, a building at Trœzen, 444.
- Oresthasium*, i. 491; the temple of Diana *Hiereia*, ii. 317; *Oresticum* on Mount Tzimbarú, 318.
- Orexis*, Mount, iii. 136. 142; now called Skipézi, 151.
- Oriólos, village of Mount Movri, ii. 163; the river, 166.
- Orlov, expedition of the Russians to the Moréa, i. 208.
- Orneæ*, temple of Diana in, ii. 414; town and river of, iii. 350, 351.
- Oros of Ægina, the, ii. 433.
- Orthokostá, convent of, ii. 502.
- Ortilochus of *Pharæ*, i. 343.
- Oryx*, town of, ii. 271, 272.
- Osmán, hodja-khán, ii. 64.
- Ostracine*, cavern of the hill, ii. 281.
- Ovens the; caverns thus named, iii. 13.
- Ovid, quoted respecting Helice and Bura, iii. 399.
- Ovrio-nísi, or Ovrió-kastro, island of, iii. 313.
- Oxiá, peak on the coast near Mesolónghi, ii. 163; island Oxiá, 163.
- Oxyly the Ætolian, i. 6. 8; tomb of, ii. 223.
- P.
- PABAKA, i. 285.
- Pæstum*, or *Posidonia*, description and dimensions of the temples at, i. 98. 134; ii. 4; iii. 277.
- Painting of the Argonauts, by Micon, iii. 50.
- Paintings, of the school of Sicyon, iii. 361.
- Palaæa*, town of, iii. 6; named Pleia by Livy, 8.
- Palæmon, or Melicertes, iii. 239; his altar, 289; he is carried by the dolphin, 289, 290; his sanctuary restored by P. L. P. Juvencianus, 291—296.
- Palamedes, son of Nauplius, ii. 358.
- Palamídhí, steep and lofty mountain: this name is connected with the traditionary history of Nauplia, ii. 358: the Author obtains permission to visit the fortress; description, 360.
- Paláti, or the Palace, a ruin near the bank of the river Alpheius, ii. 87.
- Palatine Hill, i. 118.
- Paleá Bukha, i. 11.
- Lutra, i. 356, 357.
- Paleó Episkopí, i. 86. 99.
- Paleó-Anápli, ii. 350.
- Paleofánaro, Hellenic site, ii. 210.
- Paleókastro, a general modern name for Hellenic sites and ruins. i. 47. 52. 83. 117. 354. 356. 360; ii. 82.
- Paleókhora, i. 311.
- Paleópoli, coins offered at, i. 5. 100—112. 244. 248. 251. 259; ii. 219. 225.
- Paleovúni, Mount, in *Ætolia*, ii. 122.
- Paliúri, the shrub: *rhamnus*, or *zyphus Paliurus*, ii. 90. 111.
- Palladium, the statue of Minerva at Argos, brought from Troy, ii. 409.
- Pallantium*, Plain muddy and rugged, iii. 35.
- site of the city, i. 100. 112—115. 119; iii. 36.
- Pallas, i. 119.
- Palus, or Polus, plain of, ii. 300.
- Pamisus*, river, i. 68. 328. 360, 361. 364, 365. 368; its rise to the southward of Skala, 390; description, 439. 444; sources, 478. 482.
- Pan, deity of Arcadia, i. 122; ii. 75; statue of Pan *Synoeis*, ii. 32; *Scoleitas*, 33; *Lyterius*, 446.
- temple of, ii. 303; Mount Mænaliûm, sacred to, 304.
- perpetual fire maintained before his statue, 309; temple of Pan *Nomius*, 311.
- the god, his appearance on Mount Parthenium, ii. 330, 331; oak sacred to Pan, 332.
- and Bacchus, worshipped at the sources of the Erasinus, ii. 341, 342.
- his temple on Lycæum, ii. 310.
- Panachaicum, Mount, ii. 139. 154.
- Panaghía, 'on the Precipice,' monastery of, iii. 336.
- Pandeleimona, the torrent, near Sparta, i. 127—131. 150; its rocky opening, iii. 1.
- Panhellenium, dimensions and style



- of architecture of the temple of Jupiter *Panhellenius*, iii. 275.
- Panhellenium of Ægina, its sculptures, ii. 466.
- Pánitza, i. 257. 267.
- Panormus, the port, iii. 413; naval action, 415.
- Panormus*, Port, iii. 195.
- Papa, Cape, lagoon near, ii. 160; the promontory, iii. 207, 208.
- Papadhá, Hellenic ruins at this village, ii. 92.
- Papadhópulo, or Papásoglu, i. 87; Kyr Ianni, ii. 114. 284.
- Paparagópulo, Dhimítri, i. 86.
- Pápari, i. 83; village, ii. 45; iii. 24. 40.
- Paphia, i. 327.
- Papásoglu, Anagnósti, governor of Aios Petros, i. 100.
- Paputzi, tjiftlik of, iii. 31. 34.
- Paracyparissii, i. 227.
- Paradhísi, village, iii. 354.
- Paræbasium*, the sepulchre of Megalopolitans, slain by Cleomenes, ii. 290. 292.
- Parakhóra, i. 257.
- Parásiro, i. 258.
- Paraskeví, Aia, i. 69. 76.
- Paravunáki, ridge of, ii. 337.
- Parnon, Mount, now Málevo of St. Peter's, i. 137; ii. 491; iii. 42.
- Paromía, village of Mani, i. 336.
- Paroreatæ, i. 60. 67.
- Paroria*, built by Paroreus, ii. 299.
- Parrhasia* and *Eutresii*, named by Homer as cities, ii. 320.
- Parrhasii, the; towns colonized by them, ii. 320, 321.
- Parthenia*, river, ii. 209. 211.
- Parthenium, Mount, i. 89. 99. 114. 121.
- Parthenium*, rugged rocks of the pass of; now called the Partheni dervéni, ii. 329; kiosk and fountain, 330.
- Parthenon, the, i. 27. 97. 493; beauty of the masonry, ii. 3. 6. 8; can be distinctly seen from the Acro-Corinthus, iii. 259.
- Pashá-Vrysi, or Fountain of the Pashá, ii. 296. 297.
- Pashá of the Moréa, ii. 152; his dispersion of the banditti, 282; his discipline of civil officers, 283; 344; payment for his appointment, 346.
- Pashá Capitán, i. 204. 208. 243. 269. 271.
- fountain of the, i. 81. 327.
- Pasqualego, Mr., i. 68.
- Passage from Vostítza to Xylókastro, iii. 210, *et seq.*
- Pássava, plain of, i. 251, 252; visit to the ruins, 254; the fort of Pássava, 255; Hellenic wall in the ruined fortress, 256; prospect from the hill, 257; plant growing on the hill, and resembling asparagus, 258; the river, 260. 264. 266; Mount *Asia*, 276; the river Smenus, 277.
- Patissía, i. 201. 222. 230.
- Patra, metropolitan of, i. 10.
- or Patras, the *Patræ* of the ancients, i. 88. 127. 131; its name, monuments, edifices, and records, ii. 123. 125, *et seq.*; its population, 140; town unhealthy, 142; villages in the district of Patra, 144; agriculture, the metayer, 144. 348; iii. 195. 207—212.
- Patræ*, iii. 227.
- Patreus, founder of *Patræ*, ii. 126; his sepulchre, 128.
- Paus*, ruins of the fortress, ii. 249, 250.
- Pausanias, monument of, i. 164.
- king of Sparta, ii. 202.
- corrupt text of, ii. 287.
- describes an action fought at Mantinea, iii. 84. N.B. The author cites Pausanias the Greek traveller, *passim*; and offers translations of many of his descriptions; thus making a comparison of modern Greece with its ancient condition.
- Pausias, pictures by, ii. 421.
- Pávlitza, village: walls of *Phigaleia*, i. 57. 73. 489, *et seq.*
- Pegasus*, i. 454.
- Pegæ* of the Megalopolitis, ii. 271. 317; the Fountains, iii. 38; the stream, 41.
- Pegasus, iii. 239, 240. 291.
- Peiræ, situation of, ii. 157.
- Peiræum*, iii. 315, 316, 317.
- Peiræus, the harbour, iii. 312, 313.
- Peirene, fountain at Corinth, iii. 233. 237. 242.
- Peirithous, i. 95.
- Peirus*, or river of 'Olono, ii. 118.



- 121; the bridge Polykhronía, 122. 154.
- Peitho, temple at Sicyon, iii. 359.
- Pelagus, wood of oaks and cork trees, i. 102. 113; ii. 334; iii. 50.
- the oracle warns Epaminondas to avoid the, iii. 82.
- Pelasgi, under Neleus, i. 413.
- Pelagus, tomb at Argos of, ii. 406.
- Peleus, i. 95.
- Pelias slain at Iolcus by his daughters, iii. 50.
- Pellana, site of, iii. 13—16. 19.
- Pellene, manufactures of, iii. 389.
- on Mount *Chelydorea*, iii. 141; site of, 215; description of the ancient town, 217; its temples and statues, 218.
- Pellenenses, boundary of the, iii. 139.
- Pelopium, site at Olympia of the, i. 34. 38.
- Peloponnesus, i. 185, 186. 230. 279. 352. 378. 492; temples of, ii. 6; geological construction of the Peloponnesus, its subterraneous rivers, &c., iii. 153.
- Peloponnesian war, origin of the, ii. 433; iii. 312.
- Pelops, islands of, ii. 455.
- Pendádha, villages named collectively the, i. 285. 314.
- Peneius, the river, i. 1—11; its sources, ii. 116; its depth, 176.
- Penelope, iii. 238; her choice of Ulysses, and dedication of the statue of *Ædo* by Icarius, 14, 15; her tomb, 96.
- Peninsula of Greece, i. 200; coolness of climate in the interior, ii. 20.
- Penteleium*, fortified place, iii. 156.
- Penthesilea, i. 187.
- Perakhóra, village of, iii. 191. 380; peak of, 380, 381.
- Perch, *fish*, ii. 100.
- Pergamum, in Asia Minor, emigrants to, ii. 23.
- Pericles, i. 493.
- Perieres, son of *Æolus*, i. 456.
- Perilaus slaying the Spartan Othryades, statue, ii. 405.
- Peristomium brought from Corinth, iii. 264, 265.
- Perivólia, village of, iii. 17, 18.
- Peróri, i. 129. 133. 145.
- Perpení, ii. 518.
- Perseus, Mycenæ founded by, ii. 355; iii. 327.
- Persian Stoa, i. 161.
- Persians, their invasions of Greece, i. 161; iii. 198.
- Persová, i. 89. 123; village of, ii. 327, 328, 329; zerethra near, iii. 56.
- Perstéra, village of, iii. 159. 172.
- Pesíli, stream, i. 399.
- Petali, Cape, i. 252. 256. 266. 276.
- Petalídhí, ancient remains at, i. 396. 438, 439.
- Peter's, St., i. 87; ii. 2.
- Petmés, or syrup of the juice of grapes, ii. 285.
- Petra Olenia*, rocky hill, and town on the *Peirus* river, ii. 182, 183. 185.
- Petrína, village of, i. 265; iii. 21.
- Petrínitzá, village of, iii. 132.
- Petrópolis, i. 323.
- Petrosaca* on Mount *Mænaliu*m, ii. 281.
- Petrovúni, i. 236. 259.
- Petrúki, flat topt rocky summit, iii. 175; mountain, 396.
- Petrúni, Kyr, i. 282, 284. 314. 316. 319.
- Petza, island of, ii. 344, 345. 463.
- Phædra and Hippolytus, ii. 445.
- Phædria*, ancient village, ii. 295.
- Phaenna, i. 146.
- Phaëthon, iii. 238.
- Phagus, edible acorn of the, iii. 52.
- Phalæsia*, near Gardhíki, ii. 298.
- Phalanthus*, city, its ruins on the mountain *Phalanthu*m, ii. 300.
- Phara, i. 330.
- Pharæ*, or *Pheræ*, i. 327. 332. 443. 360—366; inscription, ii. 155; the site, 158.
- Pharis*, in the plain of Sparta, i. 182. 362. 466; Homeric town, iii. 2, 3.
- Pheia*, i. 420; port of, ii. 138, 189; it is at the foot of the hill of Pondikókastro, 191; iii. 124.
- Pheias, the island, near Cape Kátakolo, iii. 124.
- Phellia*, i. 182; river, iii. 2. 4.
- Phelloe*, description of, iii. 389.
- Pheneatice*, described, iii. 135, *et seq.*

- Pheneus*, the emissary of the river of, ii. 266.  
 — road from Orchomenus, iii. 106; site of the city, 117; road from Stymphalus, 135; ancient inundation, 136; the ancient city described, 136, 137; conical hill, 139; the lake of Pheneus, 146 *et seq.*
- Pheræ*, town of, i. 179; betwixt Pylus and Sparta, 423. 453; ii. 525.
- Phidias, works of, i. 37, 38. 43; ii. 224; statue by him in the temple of Minerva at Pellene, iii. 218.
- Phigaleia*, city, and fortifications at Pávlitza, i. 96, 97. 485, 486. 490—500; ii. 1. 13. 18.
- Phigalenses, the, i. 378. 486. 491, 492; ii. 6.
- Philidas, a commander opposed to King Philip, ii. 76, 77.
- Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia, his enterprizes against the Grecian states, i. 138. 143. 178. 273. 279. 370; ii. 33. 76. 204. 245; iii. 132.
- Philippeium, the, i. 36. 43. 364; at Megalopolis, ii. 33; fountain, iii. 47.
- Philippides, his supposed interview with Pan previous to the battle of Marathon, ii. 330, 331.
- Philolaus, i. 227.
- Philopœmen, actions of this celebrated commander, i. 94. 178. 280; ii. 524; iii. 8; his gallant behaviour in the Third Battle of Mantinea, 87, *et seq.* 201.
- Phliasia*, valley of the, iii. 339.
- Phliasii, their defence of their city, iii. 346, 347. 375.
- Phlius*, its plain called Phliasia, iii. 107; site of this city at Polýfengo, iii. 339; description, 340.
- Phlius, the Argonaut, iii. 345.
- PHOCIS, i. 368.
- Phocus, slain by Peleus, tomb of, ii. 434.
- Phœbæa, the lake, ii. 449.
- Phœbe, i. 168. 184. 370.
- Phœbeum, i. 144. 166. 172, 173. 182. 185.
- Phœbia*, iii. 376.
- Phœnicus, port, i. 434. 443.
- Phœnix*, river, iii. 193. 413.
- Phœzi, monument of the, iii. 50.
- Pholoe, Mount, ii. 185; celebrated in Grecian poetry, 194. 196; the Peneius and Ladon rivers, 254.
- Phormio, house of, i. 168.
- Phoroneus, son of Inachus; the *Asty Phoronicum*, ii. 400, 401.
- Phranza, Byzantine historian, i. 425; ii. 44. 172; termination of his annals in 1477, iii. 190.
- Phrixa*, city of, i. 32; ii. 77. 207. 210.
- Phrixis*, stream, ii. 341.
- Phylace*, ancient town, i. 122. 124.
- Physician, a Corfiote, in practice at Tripolitza, ii. 284.
- Pialí, i. 91. 97—99.
- Piána, village of, ii. 53; source of the Helisson, 54.
- Pictures, particulars of some ancient, ii. 189.
- Pídhavro, village near Epidaurus, ii. 430. 456.
- Pídhima, river, or *Aris*, i. 357 *et seq.* 366. 390; village of, sources of the Aris, i. 477.
- Pigádhia, i. 252.
- Pigeous, wild, of Mistrá and Mezapó, iii. 6.
- Pikérni, or Pikérnes, i. 109. 111; road to, iii. 53.
- Piláfi, peaked hill, i. 389.
- Pindar, i. 176; testimony of the poet respecting *Pisa*, ii. 212.
- Pine, forests of; the species named Strofília described, ii. 165; pine clad hills, 226.
- Pirates, Cilician, ii. 162; Greek, iii. 258.
- Pisa*, valley of, i. 24—30; the ancient, ii. 209; its situation near Olympia, 211.
- Pisatæ, the, i. 8; sometimes presided at the Olympic games, ii. 212, 213.
- Pisatis*, district named the, i. 58. 65. 418; boundaries, ii. 186.
- Pisistratus, collection of the poems of Homer by, iii. 217.
- Pitanatæ, i. 164. 175.
- Pitane, i. 176, 177.
- Pitch from the forest on the Perakhóra mountain, iii. 380.
- Pittheus, judgment chair of, ii. 443.

- Pityusa, island of, ii. 464.  
 Pladitéri, village, ii. 262.  
 Plague in 1791, its ravages, ii. 359.  
 Plane trees, ii. 90, 159.  
 Planets, seven columnus symbolical of the, iii. 14.  
*Platamodes* in Messenia, i. 426, 427.  
*Platanistas*, i. 174. 178, 179.  
*Plataniston*, the fountain, i. 440 ; river, ii. 10, 11. 311. 313.  
*Platanistus*, i. 60. 154. 166. 426 ; near *Khaiáffa*, 427 ; ii. 205.  
*Platanodes*, promontory, i. 427 ; ii. 205.  
*Plátanos*, village of, ii. 502.  
*Platianá*, Hellenic town on the hill of, i. 75 ; ii. 82 ; the village, 86.  
*Platza*, i. 262. 264. 315. 320.  
*Pleistoanax*, king of Sparta, ii. 321.  
*Pliny*, i. 278. 304. 320 ; agrees with *Pausanias* and *Athenæus* in describing vocal fish, ii. 263, 264.  
*Plutarch*, i. 176, 177. 180. 183.  
*Pluto* carrying off *Proserpine*, iii. 149. 295, 296.  
*Pnyx*, the, i. 248.  
*Podaleirius*, i. 370.  
*Podhogorá*, village, ii. 106. 272.  
*Pœcile*, i. 167.  
 Poem descriptive of *Mani*, with a translation, i. 332—339.  
*Poliána*, i. 320.  
*Polichna*, site of, iii. 10.  
*Polichne*, near *Andania*, i. 391.  
*Pollux*, i. 95. 162. 182.  
*Polovítza*, i. 191.  
*Polyænus*, i. 177.  
*Polyandrium*, of victorious *Argives*, ii. 342 ; disquisition as to the monument, 343.  
*Polybius*, son of *Lycortas*, the historian, his statue on a pillar, ii. 32 ; epigram relating to, 308 ; various references to his history, i. 94. 106. 119. 134. 138. 142—145. 152. 178. 202. 362 ; ii. 30 ; speaks of the subterraneous channel of the *Alpheius*, iii. 41 ; his narrative of the third great battle of *Mantineia*, 87, *et seq.*  
*Polychaon*, son of *Lelex*, i. 456.  
*Polycleitus*, i. 146 ; his works, ii. 342 ; description of his colossal statue of *Juno*, 390 ; celebrity of this artist, 422.  
*Polydeuceia*, i. 182.  
*Polydorus*, king, i. 161, 162.  
*Polýfengo*, near the town of *St. George*, iii. 339. 342. 353, 354.  
*Polynices*, son of *Ædipus*, ii. 471.  
*Polysperchon*, i. 65.  
*Pondikókastro*, or *Rat Castle*, Hellenic ruin at *Cape Katákolo*, i. 22 ; ii. 191.  
*Pontinus*, Mount : temple of *Minnerva Saitis*, ii. 471 ; copious sources, 473 ; peaked hill and ruined castle, 338.  
*Poretjó*, ii. 240.  
*Porinas*, river, iii. 138. 142.  
*Poro*, i. 218 ; modern town of, ii. 451. 453.  
*Portes*, or *Sandaméri*, remarkable hill of these names, i. 4.  
 — the gates ; catacomb and ancient wall at, iii. 215.  
*Posidonium*, i. 302 ; of the *Isthmus of Corinth*, iii. 286, *et seq.*  
*Poseidium*, i. 62.  
*Potámi*, or *Kóraka*, i. 11.  
*Potamiá*, i. 192. 265.  
*Potamniá*, *Apano*, iii. 174.  
*Póvergo*, village of, ii. 27.  
*Pouqueville*, Mr., ii. 158.  
*Pozaiti*, or *Bozaiti*, ii. 226.  
*Prasiæ*, or *Brasiæ*, remains of, ii. 484. 498 ; *Eleuthero-Laconic town*, iii. 7.  
*Prastó*, town of, ii. 483. 495 ; the bishop of, 496 ; dialect, 499 ; near *Sparta*, iii. 10.  
*Praxitas* the *Lacedæmonian*, captures *Corinth*, iii. 252. 374.  
*Praxiteles*, works of the sculptor, i. 108 ; ii. 225.  
*Priam*, King, i. 147.  
*Priapus*, temple at *Orneæ*, iii. 351.  
*Príniko*, i. 195—197. 199. 228—231.  
*Prinokókki* gathered from the *kermes oak* for exportation, ii. 17.  
*Prinus*, the road from *Argos* named, ii. 413 ; *Prinus* and *Climax*, the roads, iii. 46. 52. 98.  
*Procles*, i. 457.  
*Prodromus*, monastery of *St.*, ii. 518.

- Proestí, disposition of the Greek, ii. 177.
- Prætus, founder of Tiryns, ii. 355 ; chambers of the daughters of, ii. 355 ; daughters of, iii. 360.
- Promachus, son of Dryon, statues of, iii. 219.
- Propus*, the hill, iii. 125. 128.
- Proserpine, i. 59. 94. 146. 163 ; iii. 295, 296.
- the Pure Virgin, i. 391.
- *Core* or *Soteira*, colossal statue of, ii. 34.
- Prospects, grand :—from Ithome above Messene, i. 386 ; from Phigaleia, 500 ; from Mount Cotylum, ii. 11, 12 ; from Zakkúka above Fanári, including the chief part of the Moréa, 69 ; from the castle of Patra, 139 ; fine geographical station on the hill of Khlemútzi, 171 ; from Mount Astrá, 236 ; from Pellene, iii. 216 ; of the Isthmus, 226 ; magnificent view from the Acro-Corinthus, 259 ; from the hill of Vasiliká, 379 ; from the khan of Akráta, 395.
- Prosymna*, fable relating to, ii. 392, 393.
- Protections, system of European : the Baratlis and Fermahnlis, ii. 344.
- Proti, island opposite to Gargaliáno, i. 428. 433.
- Protosýngelo, i. 147.
- Prytaneium, at Olympia, i. 34. 35. 37.
- Psamathia*, i. 306.
- Psamathus*, town, i. 278. 279. 299. 302. 304. 306.
- Psammis, king of Egypt, i. 8.
- Psará, island of, ii. 432.
- Psári, i. 75.
- Psaromýti, Cape, iii. 192. 207. 395.
- Psathópyrgo, anchorage of, iii. 186. 194. 416.
- Psophis, the ancient, ii. 62 ; strength and singularity of the site, 241 ; its temples and monuments, 244 ; its history, 245.
- Psykhikó, i. 53. 154. 157. 171.
- Psyttaleia*, i. 413.
- Pteleasimum, i. 485.
- Pteleum, i. 485.
- Ptolemy, i. 213, 214. 330.
- Ptolis*, or Old Mantinea, its position, iii. 97.
- Puikádhēs, village of, i. 488, 489. 501.
- Pulo, Kyr, of Skála, i. 478.
- Pylii, the, i. 60 ; their territory described by Homer, i. 413. 417 ; ii. 181 ; their wars, 193.
- Pylus*, the *Coryphasian* : the Pyliac plain, i. 59 ; port of Navarín, 26 ; town taken by Hercules, 329 ; contest between the Athenians and Spartans, 401—408 ; foundation of the city by Neleus : and Nestor, kings, 413 ; proverbial verse respecting the three Pyli, 416 ; history, 424 ; mention in the Catalogue of the Iliad, ii. 182 ; expedition, 193.
- of the *Eleia*, i. 417. 420 ; ii. 228, 229.
- *Triphyliacus*, or *Lepreaticus*, i. 56. 67. 417. 424.
- Pyraea*, a grove and sanctuary of Ceres *Prostasia*, and of Proserpine, iii. 352.
- Pyramia*, position of, ii. 479.
- Pyramid, ruin of an ancient, near the Mills of Kefalári, ii. 339.
- the Great, of Memphis, ii. 2. 354.
- Pyrgáko, or Pyrgo, near it are seen the walls of an ancient city, ii. 57.
- Pyrgí, i. 11. 46. 269.
- Pyrgi*, town, i. 57 ; ii. 207.
- Pyrgitæ, i. 63.
- Pyrgo, i. 3. 10. 22. 25. 44—47. 49. 51. 69. 262.
- plain of, i. 22 ; ii. 187 ; bay of, i. 22.
- or Pyrgáko, ii. 57.
- Pyrgos, village of, i. 285. 315. 336.
- Pyrgus*, an ancient town, ii. 76.
- Pyrrhias, Ætolian commander, i. 362 ; ii. 139.
- Pyrrhi Castra, ii. 525.
- Charax, ii. 525.
- Pyrrhichus, i. 275. 277.
- Pyrrho, the Sophist, ii. 223.
- Pyrrhus, i. 179 ; anecdote respecting the statues of Argos, ii. 403 ; monument, and sculptures representing his wars, 406 ; the king wounded by a tile, and then slain by Zopyrus, 406 ; account of his expedition, 407, 408.

## Q.

- QUAGLIE, Porto delle, i. 306.  
 Quails, i. 336.  
 Quatrenère, M., i. 36; his opinion respecting a sculpture of Neptune and Amphitrite, iii. 291.  
 Quercus ilex, or olive-leaved ever-green oak, iii. 52.

## R.

- RAFAELLI, Signor, Ragusan Consul, i. 434.  
 Rampani, Castro, i. 227.  
 Rasa, village, ii. 213.  
 Rat-Castle, the Hellenic remains, of *Pheia*, ii. 191.  
 Rate of travelling, *computation*, iii. 411, 412.  
 Renési, village, ii. 95.  
 Réonda, or Paleó Korakovúni, ii. 509, 510.  
 Retúni, large village, ii. 168.  
 Rhachus, the Crooked; a celebrated wild olive tree, ii. 448.  
 Rhapsomáti, village, i. 82; ii. 44; iii. 40, 41.  
 Rhea, fable regarding, ii. 11; cave of, 58; her wandering on Mount Alesium, iii. 49.  
*Rhegium*, emigration of the Messenians to, i. 470.  
 Rheiti, fable respecting this subterraneous course of waters, ii. 342, 343.  
*Rheitis*, near the Isthmus, iii. 309.  
 Rheneia, island of, i. 413.  
*Rheunus*, village, ii. 270; iii. 119; site, 122.  
 Rhianus, poem of, i. 461. 466. 485; ii. 14.  
*Rhipe*, ii. 102.  
*Rhium*, a city of Messenia, i. 457. 459; iii. 414; the narrow passes between it and Cynætha, iii. 130, 131.  
 ——— Cape, the Moréa castle on, ii. 147.  
 Rhodus, i. 329. 368. 371. 383.  
*Rhypæ*, site of, iii. 193; ruins of, 413. 417.  
 Rigáni, Mount, iii. 191.  
 Rites, sacred, of Ceres and Proserpine, i. 391.
- VOL. III.

- Riviótissa, i. 147.  
 Roads, ancient, throughout Arcadia; investigation of the sites, and topography, ii. 286, *et seqq.*  
 Róani, Mount, ii. 329—331. 333. 335.  
 Robbers in Greece, known by the name of Kleftes, i. 385. 474; pursuit of them, ii. 152. 282; object of the villagers in destroying the banditti, 346; executions, iii. 36.  
 Roebucks and wild animals of Mount Pholoe, ii. 215. 233.  
 Romaic dialect uses the accusative in the names of places, ii. 261.  
 Roman Empire, i. 312.  
 Roméika, the, i. 5.  
 Roméiko Tharsó, iii. 156.  
 Rosa, General, ii. 144.  
 Rózova, town of, i. 265.  
 Ruféa River, the *Alpheius*, i. 11. 23—25; magazines and skala, 45. 49; fishery, 52; the river *Ladon*, or Ruféa, ii. 95. 97. 100.  
 Ruga, Ano and Kato, i. 490. 497.  
 Rúmili, transmarine prospect of the hills of, iii. 159. 183.  
 Russians, the, i. 207, 208. 316. 400.

## S.

- SAETA, Mount, ii. 269. 277; iii. 142—148. 151.  
 Safety, temple of, at Ægium, iii. 189.  
 Saints, the Forty, monastery of the Aghíon Saránda, ii. 520.  
 Sákari, i. 52—55.  
 Salih, a janissary, iii. 331.  
 Salmeníko, river of, iii. 193. 418.  
*Salmone*, position of, ii. 192.  
 Sálona, city of, i. 242.  
 Samará, a village near Londári, ii. 44; vestiges of Cromi, 297.  
*Samia*, the city, i. 64—66; ii. 216.  
*Samicum*, a city captured by Philip of Macedon, i. 56. 60—68. 422; ii. 76. 78.  
*Saminthus*, destroyed by Agis, ii. 415.  
 Samus, city, i. 60.  
 Sandaméri, hill of, i. 4; it is seen from Mount Cotylius, ii. 12. 20; the Sandameriótiko is probably Mount *Scollis*, 184; village



- and important post of Sandaméri, 230.
- Sanga, village of, iii. 53.
- Sanghiá, Mount, i. 280—282. 285.
- Sapienza, island of, i. 433.
- Saránda Potamó, i. 121. 123; its katavóthra, iii. 42.
- Sarapis, temples of, i. 165. 313. 327. 371; ii. 130; iii. 244.
- Saratzá, a village near Cape Gallo, i. 439. 443.
- Sarina, a village on the *Neda*, i. 500. 501.
- Saron, king, ii. 448.
- Sárona, i. 73.
- Saronic Gulf, its ports, iii. 232. 299.
- Saronis, the marsh, ii. 444; the lake, 449.
- Saurus, sepulchre and hill of, ii. 208.
- Scamander*, river, ii. 100.
- Scarthon*, river, ii. 230.
- Schœnus*, named from Schœneus the Bœotian, ii. 300; port and bay of, iii. 297—303. 307, 308.
- Schoolmasters of the Moréa, ii. 61; want of due encouragement, 177.
- Schools, ii. 496.
- Scias, the street of Sparta thus named, i. 163. 171—173; village and temple of Minerva Sciatís, ii. 299.
- Sciathis*, zerethra of the mountain, iii. 136. 142.
- Scillus*, the residence of Xenophon, in a district adapted to the chace, i. 31; ii. 86; situation, 210; new colony, 214; festival of Diana, 215.
- Sciritæ*, they occupied the left of the Lacedæmonian armies, iii. 60.
- Sciritis*, Laconian district, iii. 19. 28; a rugged territory, 29.
- Scirocco, the, iii. 207, 208.
- Slavonians, i. 348.
- Slavonic tribes, i. 186.
- Scollis*, a rocky mountain, otherwise the *Petra Olenia*, ii. 183; the town, 184; the Sandameriótiko, 230.
- Scopas of Parus, works of this celebrated statuary, i. 95, 96; ii. 25. 224.
- Scope*, Epaminondas dying witnessed the battle of Leuctra from, i. 112, 113; iii. 51. 94; a point of the Mænalian range, ii. 282.
- Scotita*, temple of Jupiter *Scotitas* at, ii. 522. 524.
- Sculptures, curious ancient, in low relief, ii. 307; statues in the temple of Despœna, 308.
- Scyllæum*, Cape, now called Skyli, ii. 462.
- Scyras, river, i. 275. 277.
- Sea-coast of the Moréa, climate of the, ii. 20; retreat of the sea, 148.
- Sebrium*, i. 167.
- Sebrus, i. 167.
- Secret port*, of Ægina, ii. 434.
- Seid Agá of Lalla, i. 2. 55; his house, ii. 71; chief ayán of Patra, 155; khan of Seid Agá, 159. 348.
- Seid Ahmét Agá, i. 69.
- Sela*, mouth of the river, i. 428.
- Selemnus*, the river, at *Argyra*, ii. 150; iii. 417.
- Selinus*, river near Olympia, i. 31; iii. 402; or river of Vostítza, 407.
- town of the Laconice, iii. 7. 11; the temples described, 280, 281.
- Sélitza, i. 325.
- Sellasia*, this fortress was a bulwark of Sparta, i. 142, 143. 183; ii. 28. 31.
- Selleis, river, i. 6, 7.
- Sepia*, mountain, iii. 116. 139. 151.
- Sepulchre, pyramidal, of the Argives, ii. 349.
- Sepulchres, i. 261. 267; of the Atreidæ at Mycenæ, ii. 366; sepulchral niches near Vostítza, iii. 192; sepulchres of the Sicyonii, 357.
- Serai of Tripolitza, villagers of Kandili obliged to carry snow for its supply, iii. 107.
- Seremet Bey, i. 234. 237. 321. 475.
- Serpents, sacred, of the temple of Æsculapius, ii. 426.
- Sérvoi, village of, ii. 65.
- Servúla, village of, iii. 192.
- Sessini, Dr., of Gastúni, i. 1; ii. 177.
- Shálesi, village of, ii. 305. 318.
- Sheep in the Moréa, management of the flocks of, i. 15—17.
- Shemseddin Bey, of Gastúni, i. 3; his pyrgo, ii. 170. 238.
- Shimiza, i. 367.

- Shrubs, on the borders of streams, ii. 123.
- Sicily, ancient remains, and references to, i. 21. 134; ii. 4.
- SICYON, city of, iii. 226—237. 240; its edifices, walls, sepulchres, and historical importance, 357 *et seq.*; strength of the Acropolis, the tabular height of Vasiliká, 365; New Sicyon, 366; existing remains, 369. 371; view from the hill of Sicyon, 380.
- coins of, i. 111; iii. 306. 379, 380.
- Sicyonia*, description of the, iii. 228. 324 *et seq.*
- Sidherókastro, i. 75. 77. 486.
- Sidus*, the town of, iii. 256. 307, 308.
- Silenus, i. 275; his temple at Elis, ii. 223; statue, 224.
- Silivena, near the river Akráta, iii. 174.
- Silk, culture of, i. 347. 433; ii. 50. 141.
- Silk-worm, the, i. 349.
- Simiádhēs, village of, ii. 279; situation of, iii. 95.
- Simias, his conduct in the battle of Mantinea, iii. 92.
- Simizá, i. 376. 384.
- Simépulo, village, ii. 231.
- Sinai, Mount, i. 291.
- Sinánbey, village, i. 187, 188.
- Sinánu, village of, i. 81; road from Karítēna, ii. 27; description of the valley of Megalopolis, and the site of the ancient city, 28—42.
- Sisyphēium at Corinth, iii. 237. 250.
- Sisyphus, tomb of, iii. 291.
- Sítēna, village of, ii. 503.
- Skafidhákī, village of, ii. 338.
- Skafidhia, convent of, i. 11.
- Skála, of Strovítzi, i. 56.
- on the Eurotas, i. 196. 357, 358.
- , the village, i. 388; on the ridge of hills from Makryplái to *Ithome*, 478.
- Skáloma, i. 56.
- Skamnáki, i. 257. 277.
- Skardhamúla the site of Cardamyle, i. 237. 316. 321. 323. 331.
- Skhiza, island, i. 433, 434.
- Skipézi, Mount, iii. 114. 142. 151.
- Sklavokhóri, i. 22. 133—136. 157. 187.
- Sklirú, a village of Mount *Cotylion*, ii. 8; stream and sources near the village, 10.
- Skodra, i. 347.
- Skopá, i. 272. 312.
- Skopópoli, i. 272. 277.
- Skotínes, i. 226.
- Skotínī, village of, iii. 107; zere-thra, 155.
- Skutári, i. 235. 237. 252. 258. 262—264. 268. 269. 271, 272. 279, 280. 282. 284. 303. 318.
- Slaves, traffic by the Turks in African, i. 431.
- Sleep, i. 170; deity friendly to the Muses, ii. 443; statue of, iii. 361.
- Slingers of Patræ and Dyme, ii. 153.
- Smarlína, village, i. 500.
- Smenus, river, i. 266. 274. 277.
- Smerna, mountain of, i. 51, 52. 55. 66—68.
- village of, i. 30; ii. 206.
- Smith and St. Barbe, merchants, i. 315.
- Smyrna, i. 347, 348.
- Social War, events of the, i. 138. 362; ii. 76. 164. 245; iii. 9. 131. 387.
- Sokhá, i. 188. 265.
- Solar worship in Greece, ii. 370.
- Solos, village of, iii. 158—161. 166—168. 170. 173.
- Solygeia*, town of, iii. 309—312.
- Solygius*, Mount, iii. 309.
- Sophocles, explanation of a passage of, ii. 403.
- Sopotó, river of, ii. 241; village, 254 *et seq.*
- Soron*, forest of oaks called, ii. 249, 250.
- Sosípolis, temple of, i. 39.
- Sostomiū, ruin at, i. 501.
- Soteria, [or Safety,] statue at Patræ of, ii. 129.
- Sotirákī, anecdote of him, ii. 283, 284.
- Spahís, a Turkish corps, i. 16. 21. 368; ii. 49.
- SPARTA, general description of the site, and account of the ancient buildings and topography. i. 113. 124—138. 141—161. 170—199. 246. 249. 277. 287. 289. 307. 328. 362; iii. 57—93. 229. 303. *See also Lacedæmon.*

- Spartans, the, i. 274. 277. 360. 401. 461.
- Spetziote, i. 218.
- Sphacteria*, or *Sphagia*, i. 62. 400 ; tour of the island of Navarín, 401 ; description by Thucydides, 405.
- Spiræum*, Cape, iii. 313.
- Spring in Greece, described, ii. 32.
- Sta Nerá, the khan, ii. 337.
- Stadia, in various cities, i. 33—35. 38—44. 102. 106. 111. 175. 231. 376. 378. 380 ; ii. 37.
- Stanhope, Mr. J. Spencer, i. 42.
- States of ancient Greece, good and bad effects of their independence and rivalry, iii. 25.
- Stathí, his farms, i. 147.
- Statues ; colossal statue of Apollo Epicurius, ii. 7 ; various wooden statues at Megalopolis, 36 ; square form affected by the Arcadians in statues, 36 ; acrolithic and chryselephantine statues, 130 ; in the Castle of Patra, 146 ; at Elis, 222. 224 ; of the Nile, and other rivers, 245 ; of Argos described, ii. 402 ; description of those belonging to the Argolic Heræum, ii. 389 ; invention of brazen statues, iii. 137 ; curious art of preserving their fine statues, invented by the ancients, 218 ; seen near the monastery of Luku, ii. 488 ; at the Isthmian Posidonium, iii. 289, 290 ; at Titane, 377.
- Stavrí, Cape, i. 272.
- Stavropíghi, i. 261. 315.
- Stazusa, fountain, iii. 358.
- Stemnítza, near Karítēna, ii. 22 ; a tower seen on a precipice near the village, 25 ; mountain of Stemnítza, 62 ; village, 64.
- Stená, or Straits of the Alpheius near Karítēna, ii. 22 ; Stená of the Helisson, 52 ; of the river near Nezerá, 121 ; of the Ladon, 272.
- Stenó, village, ii. 328 ; pass of, 331.
- Stenúri, i. 124.
- Stenyclerus*, site of, i. 479.
- Stenyclerus*, the hero, i. 391. 457. ——— plain of, i. 391. 479.
- Stephanus, i. 9. 279. 287. 362.
- Stoa Pæcile, i. 31. 37. 166.
- Storks, migration of, ii. 50.
- Strabo, descriptions by the geographer, *passim*.
- Strábovo, a village of Mount Lycæum, ii. 27.
- Strane, Mr. Consul, ii. 123. 134 ; his house at Patra, 143 ; iii. 209.
- Strato, stoa of the Athlete, iii. 188.
- Straton, statues by the sculptor, ii. 409.
- Stréfi, river and village, i. 24 ; ii. 192.
- Strémata, a measure of land, i. 14.
- Strézova, town in a lofty situation, ii. 106. 240. 249.
- Strofíliá, a species of pine having esculent seed, ii. 165.
- Strotza, i. 264.
- Strovítzi, Skala of, i. 56 ; the village probably the site of Lepreum, 56. 73.
- Struthus*, Cape, ii. 463.
- Stuart, Mr., design of a Doric temple at Corinth, iii. 246.
- Style, declining taste of the latter Greek authors, ii. 287.
- Styllangium*, ii. 77.
- Stymphalides, the birds, iii. 113.
- Stymphalus, descendant of Arcas and Callisto, iii. 112.
- Stymphalus*, Lake of, ii. 343 ; the *Stymphalia*, iii. 107. 144 ; kata-vóthra of the lake, 108. 144 ; position of the ancient city, 109 ; vestiges of a temple, 110 ; the river, 109, 110.
- Styx*, river, iii. 139. 156 ; described by Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, and Pausanias, 161 ; the sacred oath, 162 ; water poisonous, 163 ; cup able to resist the decomposing power of the water, 164 ; frightful precipice, 165.
- Subterraneous rivers, in limestone ridges, iii. 153, 154.
- Sudhená, and Pera Sudhená, ii. 108.
- plain of, ii. 256.
- village of, iii. 180.
- Suetonius, quoted, i. 42.
- Sulimá, village of, i. 73, 74. 387. 484.
- Sulphur, i. 200.
- Sulinári, at the foot of Mount Lycódhemo, i. 398.
- Sumatia*, ii. 51.
- Summits, remarkable Grecian, mostly crowned with an ancient fortress of the same name as the mountain, ii. 13.

Sun, the Liberator, altar of the, ii. 44.  
 — altar of the, at the river Inachus, ii. 392.  
 — and Moon, statues at Elis of the, ii. 224.  
 Susa, i. 368.  
 Svarna, instrument called the, i. 14, 15.  
*Sybaris*, the fountain, iii. 402.  
 Syene, i. 293.  
*Sykená*, *Apáno*, village of, iii. 209.  
 — Kato, village of, iii. 209.  
 — river of, iii. 417.  
*Sykiá*, village, i. 201. 220.  
 — peak of, ii. 232.  
*Sylinna*, village, i. 116, 117; ii. 51; the site of *Sumatia*, 306.  
*Symbola*, i. 122, 123.  
 Symbola, the, iii. 37; here the Alpheius receives the source of *Krya Vrysi*, 42.  
 Syracuse, temple of, now the church of Santa Maria delle Colonne, iii. 278.  
*Syriámu Kurtághi*, village, ii. 105; — vale of, ii. 272.  
 Syrian Goddess, temple of the, iii. 388.  
*Sylhas*, or *Sys*, river, iii. 383. 393.  
 Swallows, migration of, ii. 50.

## T.

*TÆNARIA*, i. 303.  
 Tænarian promontory, i. 301. 307.  
 Tænarii, i. 261. 291.  
 Tænarum, Cape, i. 276, 277. 291 — 293. 299, 300. 303. 459.  
*Tænarus*, i. 139. 261.  
 — monument of, i. 165.  
 Takhúrti, i. 191; stream joining the Eurotas, iii. 4.  
 Taki, inundation near Tripolitza, so called, i. 84. 89. 91; ii. 47; it is at the foot of Mount Boreium, 327; the *katavóthra* of the lake Taki, iii. 35.  
*Taletum*, summit of Taygetum, i. 188. 252; iii. 3; the peak of St. Elias, 4.  
 Talthybius, i. 162; tomb of the herald, iii. 189.  
*Tanus*, river, now the Káni, ii. 498. 511, 512.

*Tanus*, pass at Kastánitza, iii. 10.  
 Tara, khan of, ii. 56. 240. 257. 268. 274; iii. 103.  
 — river of, ii. 269, 270; its sources, iii. 122.  
 Tarápia, on the Bosphorus, school at, ii. 496.  
 Tarápsa, i. 265.  
 Tarátzes, village of, ii. 211.  
 Taréiko, the: or river of Tara, ii. 270.  
 Tarentines, mercenaries engaged in various contests in Greece, i. 162; iii. 89.  
 Tartar, or Tatar, i. 220; death of a horseman related, iii. 338.  
 Tartári, castle on this hill, ii. 255.  
 Taurion, Macedonian general, iii. 130.  
 Tavaláki, Mount, i. 389. 397; near the Coryphasian Pylus, 416.  
 Taxiarches, Convent of St., near Vostítza, ii. 167.  
*Taygetum*, Mount, its snowy summits, i. 83; cultivated middle region, 128; *velanídhi* and *prinakókki*, 132; rocky gorge, 133; torrents, 136; precipices, 137; counterfort, 151; *Cynosuræ*, 178; remains of antiquity near Mounts *Taletum* and *Evoras*, 188; St. Elias the highest peak, 191. 251; *Taletum*, 252; river of Pássava, 255. 277; the Makrynó summit, 261; *Bardhúnia* to the south, 264; upper region, 265; ridge, 273; Tænarum, or Taygetic promontory, 301. 308; steep near the coast, 321; mountain villages, 322; torrent, 324.  
 Tzani, Kyr Elias, i. 327.  
*Tegea*, the site of the ancient city at Paleó Episkopí, i. 88; the four tribes, 89; plain of Tegea, 90; columns and vestiges of antiquity, 91; Pausanias's account, 92; celebrated fane of Minerva Alea, 94; statues, 96; wells, 99; Tegeatic plain, 121; subterranean rivers, 122; great beauty of the temple, 492; the masonry of the temple of Minerva, ii. 6; marbles and columns, 48; the demi of, ii. 333.  
*Tegeatice*, the, i. 124.  
*Teichus*, capture of this castle of the *Dymæi*, ii. 164; iii. 132.



- Tekiéh, bay called, iii. 209, 210. 416.
- Telamon, i. 95 ; heroum of, iii. 138.
- Teleclus, king of Sparta, i. 168. 360. 363. 461.
- Telemachus, son of Ulysses, i. 60. 68. 343, 344 ; visit to Nestor, 419. 423.
- Telephus, his contest with Achilles in the plain of the Caicus, i. 95 ; sacred portion of, ii. 331.
- Telesilla, figure in relief of the poetess, ii. 405. 418.
- Temathia*, Mount : or Lykódhemo, i. 435. 438. 444.
- Temená, or Teméni, village of, iii. 211.
- Teméni, Upper ; village destroyed by an inundation, iii. 402.
- Temenium*, position of, ii. 476 ; Mount, and the tomb of Temenus, 494.
- Temples, particulars of some of the most remarkable, of which ruins are still found in Greece, i. 34 ; of Apollo at Bassæ, ii. 1, *et seq.* ; of Jupiter Panhellenius at Ægina, 440 ; oaken temple of Neptune, iii. 49 ; Doric fane at Corinth described, 245, *et seq.* ; Doric architecture. *See Note to Chap. XXVIII*, 268—284 ; the Posidonium at the Isthmus 285, *et seq.* ; temple of Jupiter Nemæius, 331, 332.
- Tenea, town of, iii. 320 ; the natives of, 321.
- Tenedos, iii. 320.
- Teneia*, springs, iii. 107. 155.
- Tennus, son of Cynus, iii. 320.
- Terebinth, or kotrives, ii. 99.
- Terror, a statue of, iii. 240.
- Tersané-'Emini, the, i. 220.
- Terzané-Tefterdár, the, i. 86.
- Tetrázi, Mount : *Cerausium*, i. 57. 77. 482 — 487 ; cultivation at its foot, ii. 10—13 ; height, 27 ; oak and chestnut woods, 31. 70. 313.
- Teuthea*, town, and river *Teutheas*, ii. 157, 158.
- Teuthis, Hellenic ruins supposed to be those of, ii. 63 ; city, 290. ———, the hero, wounds Minerva, ii. 290.
- Teuthras, i. 275.
- Teuthrone*, i. 272. 275—277. 299. 312.
- Thalamæ*, lofty position of this strong fortress, i. 327. 345 ; ii. 193. 204.
- Thalassa, iii. 290.
- Thaliades*, temple of Ceres Eleusinia in the plain of Syriámu, ii. 271, 272.
- Thamyris, the bard, i. 390. 392. 456.
- Thana, village near Tripolitza, i. 117 ; ii. 47 ; ancient fragments, 48 ; rocky ridge of, iii. 35 ; site of *Pallantium*, 36.
- Tharsó, village near Foniá, iii. 110. 156.
- Thaumasiu, mountain, ii. 58.
- Theatres, ancient, the, in Peloponnesus :  
 ——— of Ægina, ii. 434.  
 ——— of Argos, ii. 396.  
 ——— of Cleitor, ii. 259.  
 ——— of Corinth, iii. 240.  
 ——— of the Epidaurii, ii. 422. 424.  
 ——— of Megalopolis, ii. 32. 39.  
 ——— of Psophis, ii. 243.  
 ——— of Sicyon, iii. 226. 296. 359. 369.  
 ——— of Sparta, i. 164. 173. 176.  
 ——— of Typaneæ, ii. 83.
- Thebans, their wars. *See Epaminondas*.
- Thebes, in Greece, i. 169. 369.
- Theecaleon at Olympia, i. 37.
- Theganusa, a desert island, i. 443.
- Theisoa, nymph, ii. 310 ; the Theisoæa, 311.  
 ——— site of the city named, 310 ; at the Castle of St. Helen, 315.
- Theius* stream, a branch of the Alpheius, ii. 298 ; iii. 27.
- Thelpusa*, ruins of a Roman building, ii. 98 ; description of the ancient edifices, 101 ; road from Psophis, 250. 271.  
 ——— daughter of Ladon, ii. 251.
- Theoclus, prophet, i. 469.
- Theodore, St., village, i. 201.
- Theodorus and Rhæcus, of Samus, i. 163 ; the first who cast figures of brass, iii. 137.
- Theopompus, i. 168.
- Therapne*, i. 166. 182—184 ; ii. 534.
- Therma*, the Warm Sources, iii. 317. 319.



- Theras, i. 167.  
 Theritas, i. 182.  
 Thermodon, i. 275.  
 Thermopyle, i. 163, 164.  
 Thermus, i. 138.  
 Thersilium, the, a council-chamber of the Arcadians, ii. 36. 39.  
 Theseium, the, temple of Theseus at Athens, ii. 3; dimensions of the temple of Theseus, iii. 275.  
 Theseus, i. 95. 370; finds the sword of Ægeus under the altar of Jupiter at Træzen, ii. 447; iii. 247.  
 Thetis, i. 165.  
 Thieves, the Forty, of Captain Nicetas, iii. 21.  
 Thocnia, ii. 38; situation of, 291. 293.  
 Thódhoro, of Mavrovúni, i. 253. ——— Aio, i. 292.  
 Tholi, circular buildings in Greece called, ii. 379.  
 Tholó, the turbid river of, i. 56. ——— valley of the, 56.  
 Tholus, the; marble chamber near the great temple of Æsculapius, ii. 421.  
 Thomas, the Greek despot, ii. 136; iii. 191.  
*Thornax*, village of, ii. 523. 534.  
 Thrasymedes of Parus, i. 370; his statue of Æsculapius, ii. 421.  
*Thraustus*, town of, ii. 202, 203. 236.  
*Thryoessa*, or Thryon at the ford of the Alpheius, i. 65; ii. 198. 200.  
 Thucydides, quotations from, i. 159, 160; illustration of his narrative of the contest of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians at Pylus and Sphacteria, 401—415; his narrative of the First Battle of Mantinea, iii. 63.  
*Thuria*, i. 360—363. 368. 453. 472.  
 Thuriatæ, the: of Messenia, i. 360. 454. 471.  
 Thuriate Gulf, i. 459.  
 Thursday, Holy, ceremony on, i. 340.  
*Thyamia*, iii. 375, 376.  
 Thyestes, his tomb called "the Rams", ii. 391.  
*Thyræum*, ruins of, ii. 300.  
*Thyræa*, ii. 332; well contested action at, 478; city burnt, 485; remains, 486; the Polyandria, 492.  
 Thyrides, Cape, i. 300—306.  
 Tiasa, i. 145.  
 Tiberius, i. 363.  
 Tigáni, i. 286.  
 Tipareus, island, ii. 464.  
*Tiryns*, walls of, i. 53. 256; ii. 6; the Cyclopien fortifications of, 350; ruins of, 350. 476.  
 Tisamenus, grandson of Agamemnon, iii. 197. 206.  
 Titane, Mount, named from Titan, iii. 352. 376, 377.  
 Tittheium, Mount, ii. 417. 420. 425.  
 Tjabán, village, i. 398.  
 Tjarnalí, village of, ii. 107.  
 Tjeftéri, hill of, ii. 113.  
 Tjimbarú, Mount, i. 82; ii. 43; ascent of, 45.  
 Tjímova, or Tzímova, town of Mani, i. 262; lofty cliffs and harbour, 282; ravine, 284; civil dissensions, 305; *Iiméni*, or the port, 312; jealousy against the Vityliótes, 314; poetical description, 336; piracies, 337.  
 Tjivló, village of, iii. 174.  
 Tleptolemus, son of Hercules, ii. 354.  
 Toló, Port, ii. 463.  
 Tombs of the Kings, at Thebes in Egypt, i. 115.  
*Tomeus*, hill near Coryphasium, i. 416.  
 Tornese, Kastro, ruin on the hill of Khlemútzi, ii. 171; its importance as a military position, 172.  
 Tortoises, lyres made of their shell, ii. 250; of Mount Parthenium, 332; tortoise of Mount Chelydorea, its shell made into a lyre by Mercury, iii. 139.  
 Towers or pyrgi of the Moréa, i. 50.  
*Trachy*, the mountain, iii. 100; ravine, 102.  
*Trachys*, site of this fortress at Trakhyá, ii. 456.  
 Tragium, i. 345.  
 Tragói, village of, i. 488, 489. 501; ii. 2; river of, 10; glen below Tragói, 16.  
 Tragománo, a village on the side of Mount Dhiofórti, ii. 21. 315. 324.  
*Tragus*, the river, ii. 249. 270; its source, iii. 119.

- Trametzús, in Epirus; the theatre, ii. 424.
- Trapezus*, city of, ii. 291.
- statues from, ii. 36.
- Travellers in Greece, best season for their visit, iii. 170.
- Treasures of the Atreidæ at Mycenæ, ii. 365; excavation at the Spiliá, 373; description of the great treasury, 374; illustration, 377; romantic effect, 382; the second treasury, *ib.*; third subterranean treasury, 383; fourth treasury, 384.
- Trémola, ruins of the modern castle called, ii. 112; mountain, 113.
- Tretus, Mount, ii. 372; the dervéni, or pass of; ancient tower, ii. 387; the road named, iii. 328; ravine of the Tretus, 337.
- Triandafyliá, mountain, iii. 148.
- Tricaranum, mountain, iii. 346. 349.
- Tricoloni*, city, with a square statue of Neptune, ii. 299.
- Tricrana*, island, ii. 457.
- Tricrena*, or the Three Sources, on Mount Geronteium, iii. 116. 138.
- Trieste, i. 204. 348.
- Trikhiri, ii. 465.
- Tríkkala, town of, iii. 213, 214. 221—225.
- Trinasus, i. 195. 230—233.
- Trínisa, i. 195. 230, 231. 248, 249. 254. 264.
- Triodi*, or Three Ways, i. 107; ii. 304.
- Triopas, i. 369.
- Triphyliá*, district of the *Peloponnesus*, i. 49. 59—67; ii. 76. 85.
- Triphylii, the, i. 59.
- Triphylus, son of Arcas, ii. 76.
- Tripod, prophetic, stolen by Hercules, iii. 146.
- Tripolis, Laconic; valley of the, iii. 19.
- Tripolitzá, account of the city of, i. 87. 92. 98. 112. 117. 197. 208. 327; the valley of Tripolitzá, ii. 31. 47. 282; iii. 55; drew its origin from Mokhlí, Tegea, and Mantinea, ii. 336; iii. 35.
- plain of, iii. 44, 45. 56.
- Tripótamo, khan of, ii. 241.
- , course of the three rivers which give name to the place, ii. 240.
- Tris Ghynékes, three rocky peaks, ii. 114.
- Trisónia, harbour of, iii. 192.
- Tritæa*, its position and remains, ii. 117.
- Tritonis*, the fountain, ii. 76. 79.
- Trízu, i. 265.
- Trochus*, the site of, ii. 338.
- Træzen*, territory of, ii. 442; acropolis and general description of, 443; sanctuary of Hippolytus, 445; extraordinary antiquity of the public edifices, 446; the harbour Celenderis, 448; 450.
- Tropæa*, and the grove Artemisium, ii. 251.
- Trophonius and Agamedes, their oaken temple of Neptune, iii. 49.
- Trophy of stone erected by the Mantineuses, iii. 85.
- Trout, the, ii. 101; supposed to be musical, ii. 263.
- Trupáki, Panaghióti, i. 315, 316.
- Trupíá, iii. 211; church of St. Irene, 397. 399.
- Trygon, sepulchre of, ii. 102, 103.
- Trýpi, i. 150. 152. 180; iii. 17.
- Trypiótiko, i. 152—154. 157. 172. 174. 181; river, iii. 12.
- Tubáki, Póliko, a chief of Mani, i. 282—285. 308. 311.
- Tumbíki, village and khan, ii. 96; artificial mound, 101. 103.
- Tumuli, ii. 96. 103; near Ægina, 435.
- Tunis, i. 131, 132.
- Túrali, i. 196. 224. 232.
- Turk, anecdote of one grateful towards the English, iii. 409, 410.
- Turkóvrysi, i. 253. 255, 256. 259. 266. 276.
- Turin, i. 347.
- Turla, port, cape, and island of, ii. 441.
- Turníki, i. 88. 101. 112; mountain and village, ii. 413.
- Turtována, mountain, ii. 108; iii. 147—151.
- Túsia, village of, iii. 110.
- Tuthoa*, river flowing into the *Ladon*, ii. 74; now the river of *Lagáda*, 95. 102.
- Twelve cities of Achaia, iii. 197; their names, 205.

- Twelve Gods, temple of the, ii. 101.  
 Tyndaridæ, i. 144.  
 Tyndareus, i. 169.  
 Tyndarus, iii. 291.  
*Typanæ*, town in *Triphylia*, i. 59;  
 ii. 69; illustration of the fortifications and theatre, 83.  
 Typæun, rock from which women were precipitated for witnessing the Olympic Games, i. 30; ii. 217, 218.  
 Tyrtæus, poet of Athens, i. 365. 461.  
 Tzakoniá, i. 151; ii. 284; monasteries of, 505; the Tzakonic dialect, 505, *et seq.*; the people remarked for beauty, iii. 173.  
 Tzanét, Bey of Mani, i. 237. 240. 253. 266. 332. 475.  
 Tzanetúpoli, or Mavrovúni, i. 253.  
 Tzanét Gligoráki, Bey of Mani, i. 234—236. 316—318. 323.  
 ——— Kutúfari, i. 323.  
 Tzasi, i. 195. 198.  
 Tzeria, i. 265.  
 Tzerígo, island of, i. 310.  
 Tzerkoví, ruins at, iii. 217.  
 Tzernotá, village, ii. 268.  
 ——— valley of, ii. 272.  
 Tzérova, i. 258.  
 Tzimbarú, the mountain, ii. 20. 318, 319; iii. 22. 24. 31. 40—43; the *katavóthra*, 40.  
 Tzingurió, i. 235, 236. 269.  
 Tzipatí, village, ii. 260. 262; hill of, 264.  
 Tzipianá, village of, i. 101. 109; iii. 95.  
 Tzítzina, river at, ii. 514. 520.  
 ——— town, ii. 515, 516.  
 Tzóia, river of, ii. 188. 191.
- Valentinian, the Emperor, i. 199.  
 Valtesiníko, village of, ii. 22. 105.  
 Vamighiáni, village, ii. 252.  
 Vánena, Hellenic remains at the village of, ii. 96; the site of *Thelpusa*, 98. 103.  
 Vanlí Pashá, ii. 347.  
 Vardhúsi, peak of, ii. 232.  
 Varibópi, i. 78.  
 Varnevó, hill above Tríkkala, having a fine prospect, iii. 223.  
 Vársova, i. 127. 150.  
 Vasiliká, village and hill, with a Hellenic wall [of Sicyon] encircling it, iii. 226. 356; inhabited by Albanians, 357; ancient site, 364; the hill of the Acropolis, 372. 382.  
 Vasilikó, rise and course of the river, i. 359. 387. 482.  
 ——— Cape, in Zákytho, ii. 175.  
 Vasili-Potamó, i. 193; ii. 45.  
 Vásilo-Pérama, i. 192.  
 Vatás, district of, i. 272.  
 Vatás, town of, i. 308.  
 Váthia, village of Mesa Mani, built on a steep hill, i. 294, 295. 336.  
 Vathý, port of, the residence of Antony Gligoráki, Bey of Mani, i. 234; contest between two priests of this town, 237; bay of Vathý, 252; the hill, 259; village, 266; description of the port, 299. 302.  
 Vathýrema, a brook at Kyparíssia, ii. 28.  
 Vatzéli, the measure, i. 14.  
 Veis Agá, village of, i. 354—358.  
 Veláni oaks, i. 200. 229. 244.  
 Velanídhi of Mount Taygetum, gathering of this produce, i. 132.  
 Velanidhiá, village of, ii. 80. 476.  
 Veliés, village, i. 205. 221.  
 Vélika, river, i. 396.  
 Vendrá, village, ii. 119.  
 Venetians, their occupation of a part of Greece, i. 204. 219. 257. 264. 306. 313. 324; the Lion of St. Mark, 430; their last conquests in the Moréa, and their duchy of Chiarenza, or Glaréntza, ii. 173; their restoration of the Moréa to the Turks in 1715, ii. 439; their fortifications at Corinth, iii. 260.  
 Venus, sanctuaries, temples, and statues of the goddess, i. 146. 211.

## U.

- ULYSSES, i. 162. 449; iii. 233; dedicates a temple to Minerva Soiteira, and Neptune, iii. 34.  
*Urania*, Venus, temple, i. 39; statue, ii. 37.

## V.

- VAFIO', remarkable height at, iii. 4.  
 Vakhó, i. 237. 258. 263. 281.  
 Vakúf, or church property, i. 45.  
 Valens, i. 199.

300. 369 ; ii. 129. 309 ; iii. 100.  
233—238. 241. 248 ; temple on  
the Acro-Corinthus, 248. 290 ;  
temple and statue at Sicyon, 362.
- *Ambologera*, i. 170.
- *Aseræa*, ii. 446.
- *Catascopia*, temple whence  
Phædra beheld Hippolytus, ii.  
445, 446.
- *Erycina*, ii. 244.
- *In the Tile*, i. 93.
- *Mechanitis*, ii. 36.
- *Melanis*, iii. 47. 234.
- *Migonitis*, i. 247.
- *Morpho*, i. 168.
- *Nymphas*, temple, ii. 447.
- *Olympia*, i. 163.
- *Paphia*, i. 94.
- *Pandemus*, ii. 224.
- *Pontia*, or *Limenia*, tem-  
ples, ii. 460.
- *Symmachia*, i. 107.
- *Urania*, i. 39 ; ii. 37. 224.  
409 ; temple at Ægeira, iii. 388.
- Venizanáki, Anagnósti, i. 316.
- Verona, Museum of, iii. 289. 294.
- Vérria, village of, ii. 515. 525.
- Verus, Lucius, i. 384.
- Vérvena, village of, i. 124 ; iii. 42 ;  
marble of, ii. 490.
- Vervítza, in the district of Neó-  
kastro, i. 400 ; on Mount Fana-  
rítiko, ii. 15 ; on Mount Vre-  
tembúga, ii. 96. 104.
- Vespasian, his administration of  
Greece, iii. 205.
- Vesta, sanctuary at Olympia of the  
goddess, i. 34.
- Veízir, a Pashá of three horse tails,  
or standards, i. 45.
- Vial, French Consul-General, i.  
436.
- Victory, statue of: at Athens, i.  
414.
- Vidhísova, i. 77.
- Viéna, Mount, ii. 232.
- Vilayéti of Gastuni, i. 19, 20.
- of Karítēna, agricultural  
produce of this mountainous dis-  
trict, ii. 22.
- Villehardouin, Guillaume de, ob-  
tained possession of Achaia, i.  
10 ; ii. 136.
- Virgil, his account of Evander, i.  
113.
- Virgin, the Holy, i. 305.
- the Pure, (Proserpine) i.  
391.
- Visoká, village of, ii. 109. 113, 114.
- Vitína, town and vale of, i. 118 ;  
ii. 22. 56 ; river of, ii. 268—  
274.
- Vitruvius, his remark on the Ionic  
order, ii. 5 ; reports the shape of  
Greek theatres, 397.
- Vityliótes, the, i. 313, 314.
- Vitylo, town and sea-port, i. 241 ;  
cliff of Ai-Eliá near, 253. 282 ;  
ruined Venetian fortress near,  
258 ; the district, 262 ; lofty cliffs  
along the coast, 282. 288 ; the  
mountain, 213 ; the port de-  
scribed, 314 ; voyage from Vitylo  
to Kitriés described, 320 ; the an-  
cient Ætylus, 327. 330 ; tradi-  
tion, 450.
- Vizítza, in the vilayéti of Karítēna,  
ii. 22.
- Vlakhi, i. 487.
- Vlakhiotēs, i. 487. 489.
- Vlakhokhóri, i. 128 ; terrace in  
cultivation at the hamlet of, iii. 2.
- Vlogoká, iii. 141 ; village near the  
site of Ægeira, 391.
- Voidhiá, Mount, ii. 109. 121, 122 ;  
it is the *Panachaicum*, 139. 142.  
232 ; iii. 193—195.
- Voidho-Kiliá, cavern called, i. 411,  
412 ; port, 423.
- Voívodas and hodja-bashis, council  
of, ii. 283.
- Vokha, olive plantations of the  
plain of, iii. 228.
- Volántza, village, i. 24 ; ii. 207.
- Vostítza, ii. 111 ; river of Vostítza  
joins thesea at Tjapes, 115 ; town  
and vicinity : general descrip-  
tion of *Ægium* and of Vostítza  
occupying its site, iii. 178—210 ;  
earthquake and inundation, 402.
- Vrakhní, village of, ii. 113.
- Vrakhóri, town of, ii. 140.
- Vretembúga, mountain of, ii. 96.  
103.
- Vriná, village of, i. 51 ; ii. 206.
- Vromoséla, near the river of Da-  
viá, or the Helisson, ii. 28. 293.
- Vryses, village, i. 76.
- Vrysómilo, river, i. 74.
- Vuliasméni, lake of, iii. 380.
- Vunáki, village of, iii. 159.
- Vunúka, Mount : or mountain of  
Alvena, i. 56. 66. 68. 82. 85 ;  
sources, 89.
- Vurkáno, monastery of, i. 78. 366 ;  
its fine situation, 385.



Vyzítza, church and village, ii. 96.  
104.

W.

WALLACHIAN language, i. 487.  
Water of Secrecy, the, i. 367.  
West Indies, i. 21.  
Wheler and Spon, references to, ii.  
134. 155 ; iii. 244 ; Wheler's de-  
scription of the castle of Corinth,  
iii. 257—261. 289. 294. 302.  
Wilkins, Mr., his Introduction to  
the Antiquities of Magna Græcia,  
iii. 332.  
Winckelmann, i. 43.  
Winds, hot, ii. 143 ; violent, 149.  
prevailing in the gulfs and bays  
of Greece, iii. 207, 208.  
—— altar of the, ceremonies,  
iii. 378.  
Wine, of *Heræa*, ii. 92 ; of *Træ-*  
*zen*, 93 ; of *Kapsá* and *Dhesfina*,  
279 ; of *Carystus*, 323.  
Wolf's contest with a bull, tradi-  
tion at Argos : money, and sculp-  
ture, ii. 402, 403.  
Wolves, ii. 517 ; poisoned by the  
bark of a tree, iii. 360.  
Women of Greece, employed in the  
severest labours of agriculture,  
and in carrying wood, iii. 172 ;  
injury to their features from this  
cause, 173.  
Wreckers of vessels driven ashore  
in Mani, i. 336.

X.

XENOPHILUS, sculptor, ii. 409.  
Xenophon, his possession of *Scillus*  
near Olympia, also *various quo-*  
*tations* ; i. 29. 33. 143. 174. 182 ;  
ii. 86. 214 ; his statue, 216 ; his  
account of the stratagem of Age-  
sipolis at Mantinea, iii. 69, 70 ;  
details the Second Battle of Man-  
tinea, 78.  
—— a sculptor, ii. 34.  
Xeriló-potamó, a branch of the *Al-*  
*pheius*, ii. 44.  
Xerokambí, cultivated level of, ii.  
493.  
Xero-Karítēna, a village near the  
bridge of the Alpheius at Karí-  
tena, ii. 21.

Xeropígadhó, the sea-beach at, ii.  
479.  
Xerováni, Mount, the northern  
summit of the Taygetic range,  
ii. 43.  
Xerxes, iii. 300.  
Xuriá, Castle of, i. 80. 462.  
Xyli, Cape, i. 201. 222. 224. 227  
—229. 231 ; ii. 518.  
Xylo-Gaidhára, village of, iii. 192.  
Xyló-Kastro, river of, iii. 210. 213,  
214. 224. 384. 393.  
Xystus of Elis, the, ii. 221.

Y.

YANATA'KI, Kyr, i. 88. 91. 100.  
110.  
Yaourt, how made, i. 17, 18.  
Ydhra, island of, commercial im-  
portance of, i. 204. 210. 218. 240.  
243 ; ii. 344, *et seq.* 432.  
Ydhriote, i. 211.  
'Ysari, a village belonging to Fa-  
nári, ii. 28 ; ancient site near it,  
158.  
Yusuf, the Validé Kiáyassy, ii. 151,  
152 ; negro minister of Alý  
Pashá, 152.  
—— Effendi, i. 220.

Z.

ZAADE, the bey, i. 237.  
Zaimoglú, village, i. 397.  
Zákari, plain below, ii. 85.  
Zakharia, the robber, i. 252.  
Zakkúka, an old castle on the Fa-  
narítiko hill above Fanári, ii. 16,  
17 ; it is a work of the middle  
ages, 19. 68 ; description of the  
comprehensive prospect from the  
hill of Zakkúka, 69. 71.  
Zaklurú, village of, iii. 175. 182.  
Zákhuli, currant vineyards of, iii.  
141. 386.  
Zakhulítiko, or river of Zákhuli,  
iii. 392, 393.  
Zákytho, island of, i. 20. 21 ; ii.  
16 ; iii. 211, 212. 227.  
Zalum-Osmán Agá, i. 265.  
Zancle, i. 470.  
Zanes, or statues of Jupiter, i. 39.  
Zaúnim-bey, i. 269. 281. 317.  
Zante, voyage from, i. 2 ; currants  
of this island, ii. 141.



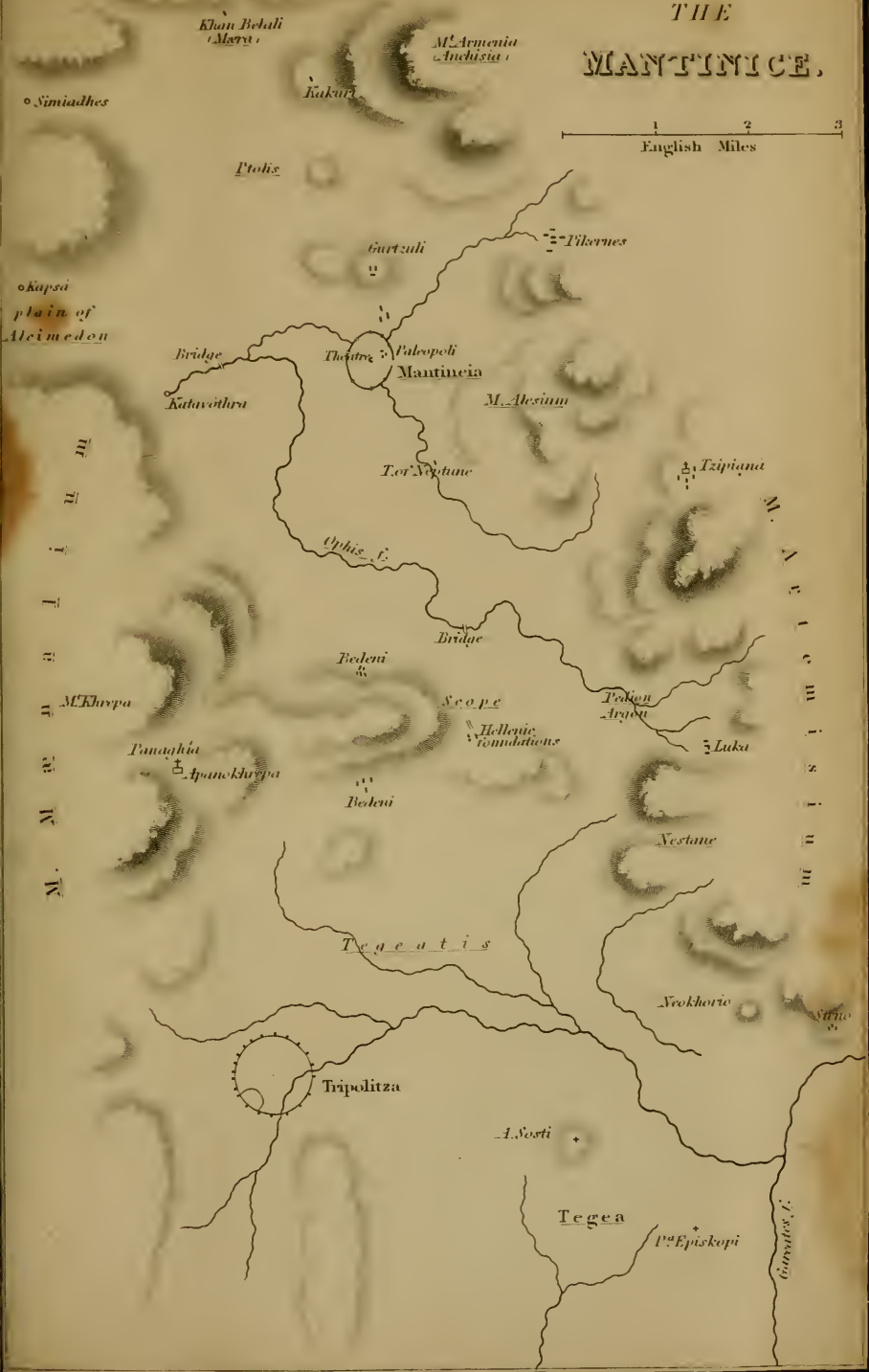
- Zaráfóna, vicinity of, iii. 12.  
 Zaráká, lake of, iii. 108. 134.  
 Zurax, ii. 500; position of, 501;  
   town of the Argive community,  
   iii. 9.  
 Zarnáta, in Mani, i. 261. 264. 313.  
   315. 316. 318. 325.  
 Zarnatiótes, the, i. 326.  
 Zarúkhla, mountain of, iii. 142.  
   150. 157; village of, 158. 160.  
 Zátuna, a town near Dhimitzána,  
   ii. 19. 22; its shops, 65.  
 Závitzá, Mount, ii. 482. 486.  
 Zerethra or katavóthra, descrip-  
   tion of, iii. 40; those in the  
   Mantinice and Tegeatice, 55;  
   of Mount Apelaureum, 113; of  
   the Stymphalia, 144. 153; de-  
   tail of all the Peloponnesian ze-  
   rethra, 155.  
 Zervó, Constantine, i. 236.  
 Zevgalátes, or Greek metayer, i.  
   147.  
 Ziza, village of, i. 479.  
 Zætia, temples of Ceres and Diana  
   at, ii. 299.  
 Zoga, village: and on the *Peirus* a  
   bridge called Polykhronía, ii.  
   122.  
 Zugrá, village and hill, iii. 214.  
   216.  
 Zulátika, torrent descending from,  
   ii. 95.  
 Zurlómylo, name of a ruined tower,  
   ii. 46.  
 Zurtza, koli of, i. 73.  
 Zygós, i. 261, 262. 315. 318. 320.  
 Zygovísti, a dependency of Dhimit-  
   zána, ii. 63, 64.  
 Zýria, Mount, iii. 109. 114. 151—  
   158. 213—222.

## END OF THE INDEX.



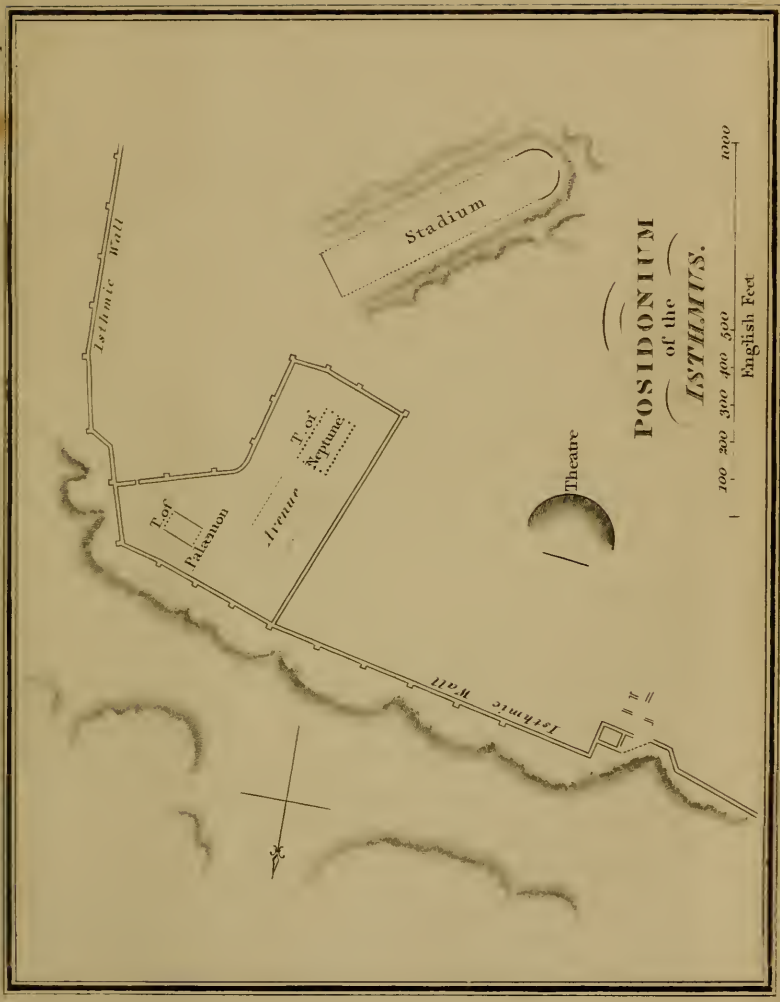


# THE MANTINICE.









POSIDONIUM  
of the  
ISTHMUS.

100 200 300 400 500 1000  
English Feet



# SITE — of — SICYON.





*N<sup>o</sup> 1. See Page 89, Vol. 1  
At Palea Episcopi, on a slab of white Marble in the  
wall of the Church*

*Form of the letters* **Υ Γ Σ**

ΙΕΡΗ

ΙΓΓΟΘΟΙΤΑΙΓΟΛΙΤΑΙ

ΓΕΡΙΑΛΞΙΜΩ

*2 lines of Names*

ΕΓΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΝΤΟΛΙΤΑΙ

*3 line*

ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣΕΡΙΤ ΛΕΟΣ

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ΛΙΞΑΝΜΙΚΙΝΟΣ

*5 lines of Names*

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΓΡΑΣΙΔΑΜΩ

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ΑΓΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΙ

ΘΡΑΣΞΑΣ ΑΩΝ

ΤΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΙΔΑΣΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΕΟΣ

ΞΕΝΟΤΙΜΟΣΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΑΥ

ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣΤΙΜΟΚΡΕΟΣ

ΜΙΚΙΩΝΤΡΟΓΩ

ΝΤΙΑΔΑΣΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΟΣ

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*The latter is on a line with ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ in the column on the right*



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*at Mistra*

ΙΣΧΥΛΙΟΙ<sup>8</sup>  
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*at Mistra*

10

ΙΟΥΛ  
ΚΑΛΛΗ  
ΗΡΑΚΛ

*at Mistra*

9

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2

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6

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at Mistrà

7

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at Mistrà

10

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ΚΑΙΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΠΕΙ  
ΗΣΠΑΡΤΗ

16

at Aia Kiriaki p. 136, Vol. 1

ΔΕΣΙΜΑΧΟΥΑΜΥ  
ΟΥΕΚΑΤΟΝΡΕΟ  
ΛΩΝΟΕΠΙΟΙ  
ΚΑΤΑΠΟ...ΟΝ

18

at Sparta

Letters 3 inches long

ΑΠΟ  
ΛΙΩΙΟΥΛΙ  
ΛΑΝΩΗΡΩ  
ΝΑΛΩΜΑΑ  
ΙΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ  
ΤΗΣΑΝΕ

ΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΥΤΗ

ΜΑΧΟΥΕΠΟΙΕΙ

17

at Sparta

ΣΕΤΤΕ ΟΣ  
ΑΣΚΛΑ ΟΣ  
ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΧΑΡΠΙΟΥ  
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ΕΥΗΜΕΡΟΣΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΥΤΟΕ  
ΔΡΑΚΩΝΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΥΤΟΒ  
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ΜΕΣΣΙΟΣΣ  
ΑΠΟΛΛ  
ΔΑΜΟ  
ΜΟ

<sup>13</sup>  
at Sklavokhori p 134  
Vol 1

ΑΑΜΥΚΑ  
(ΥΤΕΛ)

ΕΤΑ  
ΝΕΙΑΝΤΗΝ  
ΟΥΚΑΙΔΑΜΟΕΘΕΝΕ  
ΡΑΠΛΗΕΑΡΕΤΗΣ  
ΕΝΓΥΝΑΙΣΙΝΕΙΝΕΚΕΝΤΡΟΣ  
ΔΕΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΤΟΑΝΑΛΩΜΑ  
ΤΟΥΠΡΟΣΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣ  
ΑΥΤΗΣ ΤΙΒ·ΚΛΑΥ·ΕΥΔΑΜΟΥ  
ΤΟΥΕΠΑΡΤΙΑΤΙΚΟΥΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩ  
ΤΩΝΕΒΑΕΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΩΝ  
ΘΕΙΩΝΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝΑΥΤΩΝ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΥΤΟΥ

<sup>14</sup>  
at Sklavokhori

ΑΤΟΝΘΕΟΠΡΟΠΙΟΝ  
ΙΚΝΕΑΣΗΛΙΚΙΑΣ  
ΚΑΙΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΠΕΙ  
ΗΣΠΑΡΤΗ

<sup>15</sup>  
at Aia Kyriaki

ΛΥΚΩΝΟΣ ΜΑ  
ΟΥΒΟΛΓΟΣΙΕΡΟΝΕΡΣ  
ΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΥΤΗ  
ΜΑΧΟΥΕΠΟΙΕΙ

<sup>16</sup>  
at Aia Kyriaki p 136 Vol 1

ΔΕΣΙΜΑΧΟΥΑΜΥ  
ΟΥΕΚΑΤΟΝΡΕΟ  
ΛΩΝΟΕΠΙΟΙ  
ΚΑΤΑΠΟ· ΟΝ

<sup>17</sup>  
at Sparta

ΣΕΤΤΕ ΟΣ  
ΑΣΚΑ ΟΣ3  
ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΧΑΡΠΙΟΥ  
ΝΑΥΒΑΤΑ ΘΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΙΛΑΤΟΒ  
ΠΑΝΤΩΜΙΟΣΟΦΕΛΙΩΝΤΟΒ  
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ3ΣΙΔΕΚΙΑ· ΤΟΒ  
ΕΥΗΜΕΡΟΣΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΥΤΟΒ  
ΔΡΑΚΩΝΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΥΤΟΒ  
ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣΣΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ  
ΑΓΙΠΠΟΣΠΩΛΛΙΩΝΟΣ  
ΝΙΚΙΠΠΟΣΑΓΗΣΙΠΠΙΟΥ  
ΑΣΙΩΝΕΠΙΤΟΝΟΥΙΣΟΜΙΑ

<sup>18</sup>  
at Sparta  
Letters 3 inches long.

ΑΠΟ  
ΛΙΩΝΙΟΥΛΙ  
ΛΑΝΩΗΡΩ  
ΝΑΛΩΜΑΔ  
ΙΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ  
ΤΗΣΑΝΕ



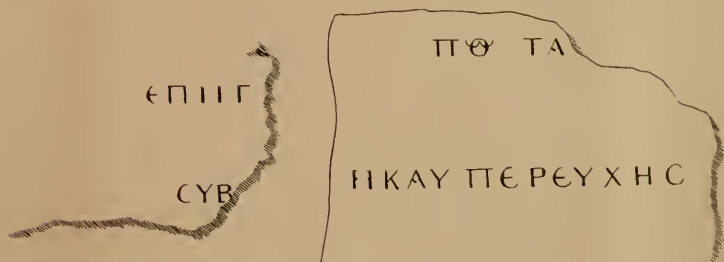
at the Finotika Kalymna

ΑΠΟΛΙΣΤΑΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ  
ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕ . . . ΝΕΑΥ  
ΤΑ ΕΥΕΡΓΕ . . ΑΝΑΝ  
ΘΕΝΤΑΤΟ . ΛΛΙΟΝΕΥ  
ΤΟΝΑΙΩΝΑ

25

at Gylhium

on fragments of the same circular slab of marble



24

On three sides of a hexagonal Stone  
in the Church called Mitropoli. at Roza  
+ ΥΠΕΡΕΥΧΗΣ ΕΩΤΗ  
ΛΕCΙΕΙΝΙCΦΛΩΡΕΝΤΑ  
ΚΤΘΤΕΚΝΘΑΥΤΩΝΘΕΟΔΩΝ

ΣΓΑΥΚΣ  
ΠΑΙΠΗΝΟΣ  
ΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΑΣΗ

ΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑ  
ΝΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ  
ΝΤΟΝΙΑΙΣ  
ΕΥΕΡΓΕ  
ΙΤΑ

ΣΤΕΦΑΝ  
ΧΑΙΡΕ

ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΕΙΝΟΥ  
ΣΕΒΑΣΙΟΥ

ΒΑΛΕΝΤΙΝΙΑΝ ΝΒ  
ΒΑΛΗΤΟ Φ<sup>ο</sup>  
Α ΤΟΥ ΒΛΠΙ ΤΕΙΝΟ  
ΒΑΣΙΑ ΤΙΟΥ  
ΚΟΣΤΑΝΤΟΣ

√<sup>ο</sup>√<sup>ω</sup>

ΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΑΙΟΝΙΟΥΑΙΟΝ  
ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕ ΝΕΑΥ  
ΤΑΣΕΥΕΡΓΕ ΑΝΑΝ  
ΘΕΝΤΑΤΟ ΑΛΙΟΝΕΥ  
ΓΟΝΑΙΠΝΑ


+ΥΠΕΡΕΥΧΗΣΕΩΤΗ  
ΛΕΣΙΕΙΝΙΔΣΦΛΩΡΕΝΙΑ  
ΚΤ&ΤΕΚΝ&ΑΥΤΩΝΘΕΟΔ&Ν

ΕΠΙΓ

ΣΥΒ

ΠΘ ΤΑ

ΗΚΑΥ ΠΕΡΕΥΛΗΣ



ΑΤΩΑΝ  
ΧΝΑ  
ΙΟΛΟ

ΔΕΙ

ΑΥΤΗΝ

ΡΙΝ

on a

between Marathonist

ΛΕΙΕ

ΓΟΞΤΡ

ΔΕΚΑΑ

ΤΑΙΑΓ

ΗΟΔΟ ΠΟΛΙΣ

ΡΛΙΔΕΒΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣ

ΟΥΟΛΟΦΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΑΝΤΩ

ΟΞΤΑΤΟΦΕΥΤΥΧΗΕΒΑΣΤ

ΟΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝΒΡ

αΔΕΓΙΣΓΟΝΓΕΡΜΑ

ΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΜΕ

ΛΚΙΚΗΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ

ΡΑΤΟΡΑΤΟΓΥΠΑΤ

ΑΤΩΝΤΑΠΑΤΡΙΑΟCΑΝΕΙΚΗ

ΖΕΥ.ΟΝCΩΤΗΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡ

ΔΑΜΟΥ

ΑΠΟΠΡ

ΑΡΙCΤΟ

ΤΑΝ.ΑΤ

ΩΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΩΝΑ

CΕΙΝΕΚΥΕΛΛΑΝΙΚΟΥΑΛΚΙ

ΕΙCΑΥΥΦΟΥΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔ

ΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ

† Η

ΠΑΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥC

ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΕΛΕΥ  
ΘΕΡΟΛΑΚΩΝΩΝΓΑΙΟΝ  
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΛΑΚΩΝΑΕΥ  
ΡΥΚΛΕΟΥΣΥΙΟΝΤΟΝ  
ΙΔΙΟΝΕΥΕΡΤΕΤΗΝC

ΔΑΜΑΡΜΕΝΙΔΑΣΣΤΡΑ  
ΤΗΓΩΝΕΠΕΜΕΛΗΘΗC

34

At Hypanisso

p 293, Vol. 1

at Marathon, on a small Sarcophagus

2 feet



28

on a Rock

between Marathon &amp; Gythium p. 248 Vol. 1.

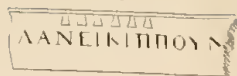
ΛΕΙΕ~Α  
ΓΟΞ ΤΡΥΘΕΞΤΑΙΞ  
ΔΕΚΑΠΟ ΤΡΥΟ  
ΤΑΙΑΓΑΤΑΤ/  
ΗΟΔΟΛΟΞ  
ΡΑΙΔΕΒΟΓΕ  
ΟΥΟΛΟΞ  
ΟΞΤΑΤΟ

31

at Euparissos

ΑΠΟΛΙΣ  
ΑΤΩΝΤΑΙΝ ΡΙΩΝ  
ΖΕΥ. Γ. ΟΝΦ  
ΔΑΜΟΥ ΙΔ  
ΑΠΟΠΡΟ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΟ  
ΤΑΝ. ΑΤΟ  
ΛΕΙΝΕΚΕΙ  
ΕΙΣΑΥΤΑΝ  
† Η Β

27

at Marathon  
in a Dedicatory

29

at a church near Pyrgo  
in Mesa Meni

ΩΝΕΦΩΡΩ ΤΙΟΝ  
ΑΠΟ ΧΑΙΡΕΝ  
ΝΑΤΟΣ ΗΜΙΝΥΠΕΡ  
ΤΟΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΕΡ  
... ΜΕΝΙΔΑΣΟΠΟ  
ΕΛΕΥΤΗΚΕΝΥΟΞΕ  
ΜΕΝΕΠΙΣΗΜΩΝ  
ΑΤΑΔΕΔΕΙΞΑΞΕΝΟ  
ΤΗΣΩΗΣΕΩΦΡΟΣΥ  
ΤΟΥΤΟΜΟ ΟΝΙΑΙ  
ΟΤΙΤΟΚΟ ΙΟΝΤΟ

followed by about 20 lines, much defaced

30

at Euparissos  
in Mesa Meni

ΤΑΙ  
ΤΟΣΝΑ  
ΣΗ ΥΚΛΗ  
ΣΙΣΕΤΗΣ  
ΝΕΤΙΜΕΛΗ  
ΝΑΥΚΛΗΡΟΥ  
ΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ  
ΡΕΤΛΙΟΥ

at Euparissos p. 291 Vol. 1

ΗΠΟΛΙΣ  
ΗΙΛΑΙΝΑΡΙΩΝΩΑΝ  
ΟΦΙΛΛΙΟΝΤΑΝΑ  
ΓΡΟΝΤΟΝΑΣΙΟΛΟ  
ΓΩΤΑΤΟΝΠΟΛΕΙ  
ΤΗΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΑΥΤΗΝ  
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

↓ Η Β

33

at Euparissos p. 291, Vol. 1

ΙΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΕΛΕΥ  
ΘΕΡΟΛΑΚΩΝΩΝΓΑΙΟΝ  
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΛΑΚΩΝΑΕΥ  
ΡΥΚΛΕΟΥΣΥΙΟΝΤΟΝ  
ΙΔΙΟΝΕΥΕΡΤΕΤΗΝ

ΔΑΜΑΡΜΕΝΙΔΑΣΣΤΡΑ  
ΤΗΩΝΕΠΕΜΕΛΗΘΗ

34

At Euparissos  
p. 293, Vol. 1

ΗΠΟΛΙΣ  
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣ  
ΜΑΡΚΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΑΝΤΩ  
ΕΥΣΕΒΗΕΥΤΥΧΗΣΒΑΣΙ  
ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝΒΡ  
ΝΙΚΟΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝΓΕΡΜΑ  
ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΜΕ  
ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ  
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΤΟΓΥΠΑΤ  
ΠΑΤΕΡΑΠΑΤΡΙΑΟΣΑΝΕΙΚΗ  
ΤΟΝΙΔΙΟΝΣΩΤΗΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡ

ΔΙΕΦΩΡΩΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΩΝΑ  
ΛΟΥΣΤΟΥΕΛΛΑΝΙΚΟΥΑΛΗ  
ΤΟΥΡΟΥΦΟΥΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔ  
ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ  
ΚΑΙΤΑΜΙΑΔΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ

ΘΕΟ

ΑΥΤΗ

ΝΟΝ

ΧΑΙΡΕ

ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ

ΑΝΟ

ΙΕΠΙΤΕΥΞΙ ΧΑΙΡΕ

ΤΡΑΙ

<sup>42</sup>  
at Skopá near Kótorna

ΚΟΥΥ

Kato Mani. p. 312. Vol. 1.

ΟΥΝΕ

ΠΑΤΕ

CΤΩ

ΙΚΑΤΑΤΗΝΑΞΙΑΝΚΑΤ

ΩΤΙΤΩΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΩ

ΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΩΜΟΙΔΟ

at Eyy

ΟΧΟΥΩΤΟΕΦΟΔΙΟΝ

ΗΤΤΗΝΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΝ

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ

←→  
ΤΥΘΕΑΤΩΝ

ΜΑΝΤΩ

ΝΗΔΟΜΑΙΥΜΕΙΝ

ΕΥΣΕΒΗ

ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ

CΤΟΥΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕΝΓΑ

ΩΝΑΣΦΑΛΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ

ΟΣΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΣ

ΔΙΕΦΟΡ

ΝΠΟΛΙΝΥΜΩΝ←

ΑΥΡΗΛΙ

CΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑΚΑΙΚΑΙ

ΔΙΑΡΧΟ

ΜΩΝΑΠΕΔΕΞΑΜΗΝ

ΜΑΥΡΗΛ

ΒΟΥΛΟΜΑΙ←

ΤΟΥ

ΓΕΙ\*ΤΟΥΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ

ΙΑΝΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΤΑ

ΟΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΩΡΟΚΑ

ΣΑΤΤΙΚΟΣΟΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΣ

ΥΤΟΥΚΕΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΣ

ΑΤΑΓΜΑΤΙΔΗΛΩΣΩ

CΤΟΥCΚΑΚΟΥΡΓΕΙΝΑΥ

Style of the Letters

Τ

ΕΒΑΚΤΜΗΩΘ

Λ

Χ

at the Gate of Megalapolis

Δ

at Messene, p. 373. Vol. 1.

Ο

ΓΟΣ ΠΛΟΤΙΟΣ ΕΥΦΗΜ. . Ν

Μ

ΕΠΕΙΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ



## ΑΠΟΛΙΣ

ΘΕΟΝΑΝΤΩ ΝΕΙ  
ΝΟΝΘΕΟΥ ΑΔΡΙ  
ΑΝΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ ΘΕΟΥ  
ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΙ  
ΚΟΥ ΥΙΩΝ ΟΝΘΕ  
ΟΥ ΝΕΡΟΥ ΑΕΓΓΟΝ  
ΠΑΤΕΡΑΤΩΝ ΜΕΓΙ  
ΣΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟ

37

at Hippocrasso p. 293 Vol. 1

## ΗΠΟΛΙΣ

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΑ  
ΜΑΝΤΩΝ ΝΙΟΝ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΝ  
ΕΥΣΕΒΗΕΥΤΥΧΗΝ ΕΒΑ  
ΣΤΟΝ

ΔΙΕΦΟΡΩΝΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ  
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ ΘΑΛΙΑΡΧΟΝ ΘΑ  
ΛΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΟΥ  
ΜΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ ΑΥΣΙΣΕΝΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΑΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

at Hippocrasso p. 293 Vol. 1

ΚΛΕΙΝΟΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΩΠΙΟΤΕ ΠΩΝΩ ΟΣΜ ΝΟΣ  
ΑΥΤΟΜΑΤΩ ΩΘΗΠΟΚ

here follows twelve or fourteen lines much defaced

ΕΥΣΤΟΥ ΜΕ ΠΑΙΔΑ

a line defaced

ΤΟΝ ΚΑΛΙΝΕΙΚΟΝ ΧΩΣΕΝ ΑΡΣΕΝΑΣ ΔΥΕΙΝ  
ΛΙΠΟΝΤΑ ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΟΣ ΝΑΙΚΑΤΕ  
ΧΗΡΗΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΙΑΝ ΦΙΛ ΔΡΙΑΣ  
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΝ ΕΖΗΝΩΣΕΝ ΗΘΟΣ ΒΑΙΥΣ  
ΔΑΙΜΩΝΑ ΠΙΣΧ ΕΙΜΕ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ ΔΙΟ  
ΟΥΣΑΝΤΕ ΜΕΙΟΤΑ ΟΣΦΙΑΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΣ  
ΜΗΤΗΡ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΗΚΑΙΣ ΝΕΥΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑ  
ΕΙΣ ΒΙΟΙΟΙ ΠΡΑΙΟΝ ΜΕΤΡΟΝ

at Hippocrasso

## ΑΠΟΛΙΣ

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚ  
ΑΜΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΑΝΤΩ  
ΕΙΝΟΝ ΣΕΒΘΕΟΥ ΑΝ  
ΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ ΘΕΟΥ  
ΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΥΙΩΝ ΟΝ  
ΕΟΥ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΟ  
ΚΟΥ ΕΓΓΟΝ ΟΝΘΕΟ  
ΝΕΡΒΑ ΑΠΟΓΟΝΟΝ ΑΡΜΕ  
ΝΙΑΚΟΝ ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΝ  
ΜΗΔΙΚΟΝ ΓΕΡΜΑ  
ΙΚΟΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ  
ΣΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΑΡΧ  
ΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣΥΠ  
ΤΟΓ

40

at Asenato Cape, Malapan  
p. 296 Vol. 1

ΠΑΡΧΟΥ  
ΟΝΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΙ  
ΑΡΧΙΓΗΟΥ ΓΑ  
ΤΗΡ

at Hippocrasso

CLAUDIA PRISCA  
VIXIT ANNOΣ DVO  
ET MENSES IIII ET  
HVE

at Babaka, in Mani

ΑΥΓΗ  
ΧΑΙΡΕ ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ  
ΙΕΠΙΤΕΥΞΙ ΧΑΙΡΕ

at Skopa near Bistorna  
in Kato Mani p. 312 Vol. 1

ΝΑΙΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΣΙΑΝ ΚΑΤ  
ΚΕΡΩΤΙ ΤΩ ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΩ  
ΑΙΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΩ ΜΟΙΔΟ  
ΗΝΙΟΧΟΥ ΩΤΟ ΕΦΟΔΙΟΝ  
ΕΤΟΤΗΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΝ

ΑΤΟΣ ΓΥΘΕΛΑΤΩΝ  
ΣΥΝΗΔΟΜΑΙ ΥΜΕΙΝ  
ΟΥ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ  
ΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΕΚΛΕΥΣΕΝ ΓΑ  
ΣΥΜΩΝΑΣ ΦΛΑΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ  
ΤΤΙΚΟΣ ΑΜΠΡΟΙΑΤΟΣ  
ΝΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΜΩΝ  
ΑΤΟΣ ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ  
ΗΝ ΤΜΩΝ ΑΠΕΔΕΞΑΜΗΝ  
ΒΟΙΛΟΜΑΙ

ΣΑ ΕΓΕΙ ΤΟΙ ΘΕΙΟΙ ΑΙΟΥ  
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ Τ  
ΟΝ ΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΩΡΟΚΑ  
ΔΙΟΣ ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ Ο ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΣ  
ΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΚΕΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΣ  
ΣΙΑΤΑΓΜΑΤΙ ΔΗΛΩΣΩ  
ΠΩΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΚΟΥΡΓΕΙΝ ΑΥ

Style of the Letters

ΣΕΒΑΚΓΜΗΩΘ

in the Gate of Megalopolis  
at Messene p. 373 Vol. 1

ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΠΛΟΓΙΟΣ ΕΥΦΗΜ  
ΕΠΕΙ ΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ

ΔΡΣΝΤΙΑΤΕΡΙΝΟΥΦΙΛΟ  
ΣΗΝΟΣΦΙΑΛΕΥΣΙΚΑΙΜ  
ΝΟΙΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΟΙΚΡΑΝΑΝΤ

ΑΛΟΣΦΙΛΩΤΑΑΙΣΧΡΩΝΤΙΜΑ  
ΝΟΡΩΝΤΩΝ. . ΑΝΤΙΛΕΓΟΜ·ΝΟ  
ΣΟΡΟΥΣΑΠΟ. . ΤΟΥΚΟΛΩΝΟΥΤΟΥ  
ΑΙΕΠΕΥΘΕΙΑΣΕΙΣΤΑΝΚΡΑ  
ΝΙΟΙΣΚΑΘΩΣΤΑΣΑΜΕΙΑ·  
ΕΝΟΥΚΡΗΣΙΟΥΕΙΤΟΣΑΜΕΙ. .  
ΥΕΙΣΤΑΝΚΡΑΝΑΝΤΑΝΚΑ  
ΑΝΙΟΙ

ΠΑΤΕΡΙΝΟΥΦΙΛΙΣΤΙ  
ΦΙΑΛΕΥΣΙΚΑΙΜΕΣΣΑ  
ΑΝΑΠΟΤΟΥΚ  
ΕΥΘΕΙΑ

*47 at Kalamata, brought from Gythium*

ΔΔΔΔΔΔ ΔΔΔΔΔΔ  
ΥΛΙΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥΓΥΣ  
ΑΞΖΕΥΣΕΒΗΣΧΑΙΡΕ

44 at Macromata, Messina p 383 Vol 1

ΑΙ ΑΙ ΟΝ ΑΤΡΗ ΑΙ ΟΝ  
ΟΥΗΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΑ  
ΟΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΕΥΧΑΡΙ  
ΣΤΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΟΙΤΑ ΑΓΑΘΑ  
ΤΩ ΟΙΚΩ ΕΙΣ ΗΓΗΣΑΜΕΝ Ο  
ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΣΧ<sup>ον</sup>  
ΤΟΣΤ· Β ΚΑ· ΑΙΘΙΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΙ Α  
ΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΑΥ  
ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΛΑΔΑΡ  
ΧΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΤΩΝ  
ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ

45 at Macromata

ΕΥΜΟΛΠΗ ΧΑΙΡΕ  
ΛΙΤΕΙΜΗΤΟΥ ΜΑΤΕΙΜΗΤΟ  
ΩΖΟΜΕΝΗ

46 at Macromata p 378 Vol 1

ΤΑΝ  
ΘΕΙΑΣΕΙ  
ΕΣΤΟΥ ΣΟΡΟ  
ΕΣΣΑΝ ΟΙ ΕΚ ΤΑΝ ΔΕΥΚ  
ΥΔΩΡ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ  
ΔΡΩΝΤΙΑ ΤΕΡΙΝΟΥ ΦΙΑ  
ΣΗΝΟΣ ΦΙΑΛΕΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ Μ  
ΝΟΙ ΜΕΣΣΑΝ ΟΙ ΚΡΑΝΑΝΤ  
ΑΛΟΣ ΦΙΑΛΩΤΑΙΣ ΝΡΩΝΤΙ ΜΑ  
ΝΟΡΩΝΙΩΝ· ΑΝΤΙΛΕΓΟΜΝΟ  
ΣΟΡΟΥΣΑΠΟ· ΤΟΥ ΚΟΛΩΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ  
ΑΙ ΕΠΕΥΘΕΙΑΣΕΙΣ ΤΑΝ ΚΡΑ  
ΝΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΘΩΣ ΤΑΣΑ ΜΕΙΑ·  
ΕΝ ΟΥΚ ΡΗΣΙΟΥ ΕΙΤΟΣΑ ΜΕΙ  
ΥΕΙΣ ΤΑΝ ΚΡΑΝΑΝΤΑΝ ΚΑ  
ΑΝΙΟΙ

ΠΑΤΕΡΙΝΟΥ ΦΙΑΙΣΤΙ  
ΦΙΑΛΕΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΣΣΑ  
ΑΝΑΠΟΤΟΥΚ·  
ΕΥΘΕΙΑ

47 at Kolamata brought from Gylthinn

ΥΛΙΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΓΥC  
ΑΞ / ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΧΑΙΡΕ

at Megalopolis.

ΑΙΡΕ

Wall at Paleá Akhaia. p. 156, Vol. 2.

59

ΕΑΡΙΔ

ΞΤΥΚΡ

ΕΑΡΙΔ

ΞΤΥΚΡ

ΑΜΟΞΕ

ΡΙΞΤΩ

ΙΡΙΞΤΟ

ΑΙΕΩ

ΕΚΑ

ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΑ

ΑΛΟΚΑΓΑΘΙΑΣΑΣΕΧ

es in the wall of  
near Paleá Achaia.

Fragments at Lekhena

62

ΘΗΒΑΚ

ΡΟΝΚ

63

ΦΙΛΩ

64

in the Plain between Tripolitza &  
Steno, not far from Tegea

at Thana

ed Metropolitan  
temple representing a

ΑΙΑΝΩ

ΠΑΝΕ

ΚΑΙΟΥ

ΤΟΒΩ

ΑΙΤΗ

ΑΤΕΣ

an Altar

ΤΕΛΘΟΝΤΑ ΠΟΡ. ΔΕΚΕΚΕΥΟ

ΤΟΒΩΝΘΥΜΟΝΑΦΕΝΤΑΠΟΝΕΙ

wer near the former

56, at

ΕΥ

ΧΟΥ

ΕΧΑΡ

Argos

ΙΟΞ

ΧΑΙΡΕ

68

at Argos

ΑΒΟΥΛΑΚΑΙ

ΟΔΑΜΟΣΤΩΝ

ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝΤΙΒ

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝΚΑΙ

ΟΝΦΛΑΘΥΙΑ

ΝΟΝΑΡΕΤΑΣ

ΕΝΕΚΑ

48  
at Megalopolis. p. 161 Vol 2

ΑΙΡΕΤΕ  
ΕΑΡΙΔΑΞ  
{ ΤΥΚΡΑΤΗΞ  
ΕΑΡΙΔΑΞ  
{ ΤΥΚΡΑΤΗΞ  
ΑΜΟΞΕΝΑ  
ΡΙΞΤΩΝ  
ΙΡΙΞΤΟΜΕΝΗΞ

62  
at Tripolitza

ΕΓΟΙΕΒΕ

54  
at Thana p. 138 Vol 2

ΑΙΑΝΩΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ  
ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΩΙ  
ΚΑΙΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΣ  
ΤΟΒΑΛΑΝΕΙ  
ΑΙΤΗΝΣΤΟΑΝ  
ΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑ

56. at Jerokomo



49  
at Megalopolis  
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΞ  
ΧΑΙΡΕ

50  
at Tripolitza

{ ΤΑΞΙΑΞ  
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ

51  
at Tripolitza p. 138 Vol 2

ΛΕΥΚΙΟΞ ΜΟΜΜ  
ΕΑΞΞΤΝΟΝ

53  
at Thana p. 138 Vol 2

ΓΑΕΙΦΙΛΗΤΕ

55  
at Jerokomo, near Patra p. 138, Vol 2

С QVR ROCV  
AEDT DD  
RATOR  
ONCI AIO  
PRISCOVIVIR

on the left hand end of the stone

CAVRELIOCF

57  
at Patra

MAPPVLEIVSPRI  
OBHONOREM

Fragments in a Wall at Palae Akkara p. 136 Vol 2

58  
ΠΟΛΙΣΦΑΡΑΙΕΩ  
ΑΡΕΤΑΣΕΝΕΚΑ

59  
ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΑ  
ΑΛΟΚΑΓΑΘΙΑΣΑΣΕΧ

on two Sepulchral Stones in the wall of  
the Khan of Soud Aga, near Palae Akkara

Fragments at Lekkara

60  
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΑΑΓΑΘΩΝΟΣΧΑΙΡΕ  
61  
ΚΑΛΩΤΕΡΜΟΝΙΟΥΧΑΙΡΕ

62  
ΘΗΒΑΚ  
ΡΟΝΚ  
63

ΦΙΛΩ

64  
in the Plain between Tripolitza &  
Stene not far from Tegea

ΣΕΒΗΣΟΙΗΡΑ  
ΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΞ  
ΩΝ

At Argos  
in the wall of the ruined Metropolitan  
Church, under a basso relievo representing a  
Man & Boy before an Altar

ΗΣΟΡΙΝΗΝΤΕΛΘΟΝΤΑ ΠΟΡ ΔΕΚΕΚΕΥΟ  
ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝΘΟΥΜΟΝΑΦΕΝΤΑΠΟΝΕΙ

66  
at Argos, in a ruined Tower near the former

ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥ  
ΑΡΓΕΙ  
ΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΥ  
ΗΣΑΝΤΑ

67  
in the same Tower at Argos  
ΝΙΚΟΓΟΛΙΟΞ  
ΚΛΕΩΝΙΞΧΑΙΡΕ

68  
at Argos  
ΑΒΟΥΛΑΚΑΙ  
ΟΔΑΜΟΣΤΩΝ  
ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝΤΙΒ  
ΚΛΑΤΔΙΟΝΚΑΙ  
ΟΝΦΛΑΟΥΤΙΑ  
ΝΟΝΑΡΕΤΑΣ  
ΕΝΕΚΑ



story of *Aghion Saranda*. p 521 Vol 2

HBO wanting to complete the end of each line

ΙΕΡΕΑ ΜΟΝΟΝ

ΕΝΕΚΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ

ΛΙΑΥΟΙΝΙΚΕ

ΑΥΤΑ·ΑΤΟ

ΟΚΕΠΟΚΑΤΟΝ

ΑΔΕΕΝΧΑ

ΤΥΤΟΤ

ΟΥΤΟΣΑΝΙΟΠΟ

ΟΥΟ

ΔΙΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΤΟ

ΙΝΕΟΥΝΙ·Τ

ΑΙΠΟΘΟΙΛΙ

Ε

ΑΑΣΑ

ΑΙΞ

ΠΤΑ·ΙΒΕΤΑΝ

ΙΚΕ

ΟΙΔΑΙΑΔΑ

ΝΙΚΕΣΥΡΙΑΙΟ

·ΤΟΞΑΝΙΟΥΙΟ

ΕΨΟΠΑΙΞ

ΤΑΝΑΥΤΟ

ΚΤΟΑΛΙΟ

ΕΝΑΡΙΟΝΤΑΣΙΝ

ΑΜΟΝΟΝΟΚΤΑ

·ΤΟΞΑΝΙΟ·ΙΟΝ

ΝΒΕΒΟΠΑ··ΙΕ

ΚΤΑΝΑΥΤΟ···ΓΟ

ΕΚΤΟΑΥΤΟΝ

ΟΚΕΛΕΧΕΝ

ΔΙΕΛΕΥΕ

ΝΙΚΕΑΥΤΟΣΑΝΙΟ

Follow six defaced lines, below which  
the stone is broken off

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΦΑΝΑΚΤΗΝ  
ΙΕΡΕΑ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΟΣ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ  
ΕΝΕΚΕΝ

{ Ο ΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΩΝ ΛΕΝΤ  
ΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΑΤΟΙΣ ΦΙΛΑΤΟΙΣ  
ΤΑΙΣ ΜΟΥΣΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΑΛΛ ΤΙ  
CΑΜΕΝ ΟΣΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΝ ΤΑ

another line illegible

In the same Monastery of Aghion Saranda p. 521 Vol. 2

ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΛΟΙΠΟΥ ΜΗ ΔΕΝ ΑΝΟ  
ΟΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΤΕΙΣΘΑΙ  
ΔΙΑ ΤΟΤΟΤΟΤ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟ  
ΤΟΤΟΤΣ ΓΑΡ ΟΜΕΝΣ ΕΒΑΣ  
ΔΕ ΔΗΜΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΑΙΣ ΗΛ  
ΜΕΝΕΞΕΒΑΛΕΝ ΟΤ  
ΟΣ ΓΕ ΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ  
ΤΩΝ ΚΗ-

On the Bank of the Eurotas, near Pellana p. 15, Vol. 3

Η ΠΟΛΙΣ  
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝ ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΤΟ  
ΠΑΡΤΙΑΤΙΚΟΥ-ΚΑ  
ΟΥΛΗΣ ΕΤΥΜΟΚΛΕ  
ΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟ  
ΝΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΩΝ  
ΤΑ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ

In the Monastery of Aghion Saranda p. 521 Vol. 2  
There are 6 or 8 letters wanting to complete the end of each line

ΜΟΝΟΝ  
ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ  
ΔΙΑΥΟΙΝΙΚΕ  
ΑΥΤΑ ΑΤΟ  
ΕΠΟΚΑΤΟΝ  
ΤΑ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΧΑ  
ΥΤΟΤ  
ΑΥΤΟΣ ΑΝΙΟΠΟ  
ΟΥΟ  
ΔΙΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΤΟ

ΛΕΟΥΝΙ Τ  
ΛΙΠΟΒΟΙΛΙ  
Ε  
ΑΑΣ ΣΑ  
ΑΙΣ  
ΙΕΠΤΑ ΙΒΕ ΤΑΝ  
ΙΚΕ  
ΟΙΔΑΙΑΔΑ  
ΝΙΚΕΣ ΥΡΙΑΙΟ  
ΤΟΣ ΑΝΙΟΨΙΟ  
ΒΕΨΟΠΑΙΣ  
ΤΑΝ ΑΥΤΟ

Κ Κ ΤΟΛΙΟ  
ΕΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΠΑΣΙΝ  
ΔΑΜΟΝΟΝ ΟΚΤΑ  
Λ ΤΟΣ ΑΝΙΟ ΙΟΝ  
ΕΝΒΕΒΟΠΑ ΙΕ  
ΕΚΤΑΝ ΑΥΤΟ ΓΟ  
ΕΚΤΑ ΑΥΤΟΝ  
ΟΚΕΛΕΧΕΝ  
ΔΙΕΛΕΥΕ  
ΕΝΙΚΕ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΑΝΙΟ

Here follow six detached lines, below which  
the stone is broken off



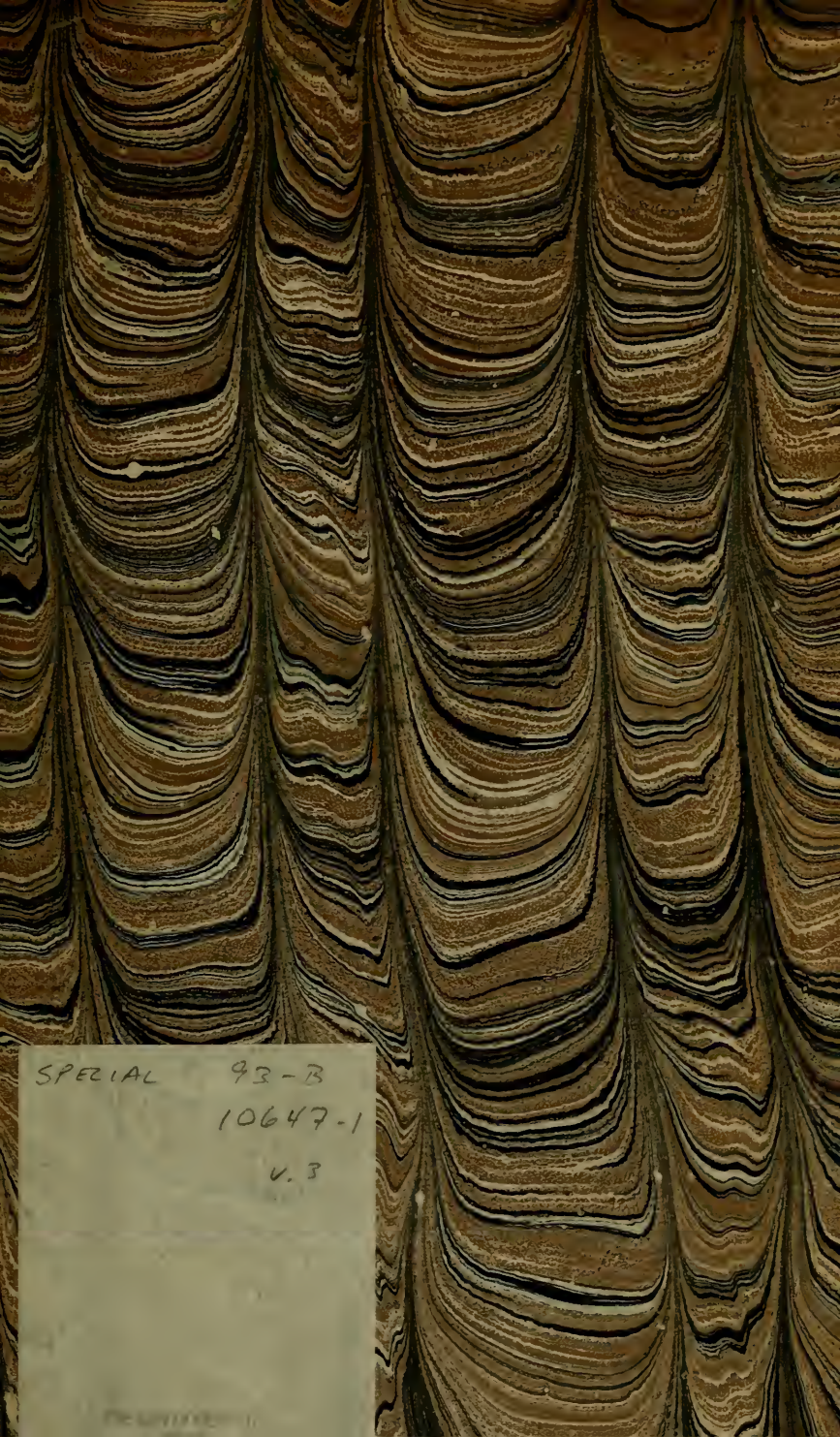












SPECIAL 93-B  
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V. 3



